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THE LABORS
OF THE MONTHS
IN ANTIQUE AND MEDIAEVAL ART
To the End of the Twelfth Century

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THE LABORS OF THE MONTHS

IN ANTIQUE AND MEDIAEVAL ART

To the End of the Twelfth Century

BY

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Northwestern University



1938

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CONTENTS

	Page
FOREWORD	I
LATE ANTIQUITY	5
EARLY MIDDLE AGES	37
TWELFTH CENTURY	57
In Italy	57
In France	66
In Spain	79
In Germany	86
In England	88
Conclusions	93
APPENDIX	104
CATALOGUE	117
COMPARATIVE TABLES	175
INDEX	181

FOREWORD

THE labors of the months is a theme of frequent occurrence in mediaeval art, a theme which is called to the attention of even the casual traveller by the presence in sculptured doorways of Romanesque churches and Gothic cathedrals of those small vignettes in which bits of local and contemporary life find expression amid the sacred stories of Biblical history or awesome apocalyptic visions.

Since the scenes had an immediate and contemporary relationship to the artist who carved or painted them, their content was not so rigidly set as in the case of sacred representations, the subject-matter of which was recorded in the scriptural narratives. In the latter the intention of the artist was to fix, from out his storied mind, things which had happened "long ago," things to which the consecration of time and religion had given an eternal and unchanging state, whereas in the former his concern was with things which happened and re-happened "now"—and these present things, drawn from his daily life, differed somewhat from country to country.

Thus, although the sacred scenes differed in details of iconography or costume, the labors of the months, in their very subject-matter, could react more freely to the influence of contemporary life and reflect with more variety the customs of different localities. Moreover, the secular character of the theme, together with the scientific pretensions inherited from its early association with astronomy, fostered a very close and frank relationship with pre-Christian renderings of the theme. Indeed, the first example produced in the Christian period used earlier pagan scenes without change. The theme therefore offers an attractive thread along which to follow the development of the mediaeval point of view from its beginnings when it borrowed the forms of classic civilization until the time when it had gradually worked out an expression of its own. This expression first found

abundant outlet in the Romanesque period, when the erection of many churches gave frequent occasions for rendering the labors of the months; and the greater number of examples in this period consequently allows certain broad differences in the iconography of the theme to appear in the different countries of western Europe.

The study of the labors in the twelfth century should therefore attempt, more systematically than heretofore, to define clearly the divergences from country to country in the iconography of the theme. Moreover, as there exists at the present time no discussion at once recent enough and extensive enough to take full advantage of newly discovered works which close gaps heretofore visible in the earlier development, it should attempt to place these works in their proper perspective so as to present as complete a picture as is possible today of the earlier history of this theme. Such will be the aim of the present study.

In completing such a program, I am greatly indebted to scholars who have previously touched upon the subject; the bibliography, full of items dealing often with but a single cycle of the labors, is in general widely scattered. The more useful items will be noted in their proper place under individual cycles of the labors. Here may be mentioned those studies which are comprehensive enough to qualify in some measure as histories of the entire theme. The pioneer in the field within the period of modern study of art was Alois Riegl,* who, in his study of 1889, took the entire history of the theme as his subject, and pointed the way to the essential distinction between the antique and mediaeval illustrations of the months. In his general picture of the antique illustrations, he exaggerated the importance of personification, particularly for some of the late examples, and the material presented is scanty. Apparently he did not have access to the previous survey by Fowler,† which contained a more complete collection of examples, although it could not rival Riegl's work as a study of the

* Riegl, "Die mittelalterliche Kalendarillustration," in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung*, X (1889), 1 ff.

† Fowler, "On Mediaeval Representations of the Months and Seasons," in *Archaeologia*, XLIV (1873), 137 ff.

character of the theme and its developments. Strzygowski's studies of limited parts of the subject, the examples from Byzantine art* and the illustrations of the Chronograph of 354,† which appeared at about the same time as Riegl's study, not only discuss thoroughly these limited sections of the subject but also contain valuable material of a general nature. The most extended study is that of Le Sénécal,‡ which is especially useful for its list of examples from the later mediaeval period; the treatment of the earlier transitional period, however, is more sketchy and follows too closely Riegl's idea of personification. There are points in which the author, whose life was cut short by the war, would doubtless have improved his work had he himself been able to bring it to publication. Brandt has included an interesting discussion of the theme in his study of representations of work,§ although the material presented for the early period is limited. Of a similar nature is d'Ancona's somewhat briefer study in his survey of mediaeval culture as seen in the art of Italy.|| Koseleff's more recent summary¶ records a study of the important section of the subject contained in French sculpture of the twelfth century, which one could wish published in more extended form.**

To turn, however, from such formally published studies, available

* Strzygowski, "Die Monatszyklen der byzantinischen Kunst," in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XI (1888), 23 ff.

† Strzygowski, "Die Kalendarbilder des Chronograph vom Jahre 354," in *Jahrbuch des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Ergänzungsheft I* (1888), especially 44-53.

‡ Le Sénécal, "Les occupations des mois dans l'iconographie du moyen-âge," in *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, XXXV (1921-3), 1 ff.

§ Paul Brandt, *Schaffende Arbeit und bildende Kunst* (Leipzig 1927); individual months are sometimes incorrectly labeled.

|| Paolo d'Ancona, *L'uomo e le sue opere nelle figurazioni italiane del medioevo* (Florence 1923), especially 94 ff.

¶ Olga Koseleff, *Die Monatsdarstellungen der französischen Plastik des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Warburg 1934, diss.).

** Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture* (New Haven 1917) I, 354 ff., presents a brief discussion of the months based chiefly on Strzygowski's study, although with a greater amount of material in the way of verses and twelfth-century works; his work, however, is more important for its descriptions of the churches of Lombardy, contained in volumes two and three, in several of which the labors of the months are found. Husung's discussion, "Über die Entwicklung der Monatsbilder in Kalendern," in *Buch und Bucheinband, Aufsätze und graphische Blätter zum 60. Geburtstage von Hans Loubier* (Leipzig 1923), 13 ff., is a brief introduction to a later printed cycle, not a full study of the theme.

to all, it is a greater pleasure to acknowledge aid which was more informal and personal, less accessible to others, more worthy of note. Foremost among such sources is Professor C. R. Morey of Princeton, to whom I am especially indebted for constant suggestions and advice. Mrs. P. C. Nye of the Princeton Index of Christian Art generously placed at my disposal a corpus of examples noted in her study of the signs of the zodiac. I have had the benefit of suggestions at certain points from Dr. Panofsky of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton. Professor David M. Robb of the University of Minnesota has assisted with notes and photographs of North Italian sculpture, and the command over matters of bibliography possessed by Professor Archer Taylor of the University of Chicago has been very helpful on occasion. I am particularly indebted to Professor Rensselaer W. Lee for reading the manuscript and offering useful suggestions making for greater clarity in presentation. Needless to say, the above are in no way responsible for whatever shortcomings remain.

I am also grateful to the College of Liberal Arts of Northwestern University for financial assistance in collecting illustrative material and preparing it for publication, and to Messrs. Gibson Danes and Wilbert Seidel for generous assistance in making drawings of some of the scenes.

CHAPTER I

LATE ANTIQUITY

THE labors of the months of mediaeval European art find their immediate origin in the art of the late antique world, the earliest extant example being found in the illustrations, for they are not yet "labors," of a Hellenistic frieze now embedded in the façade of the church of Hagios Eleutherios at Athens (1).* The figures occur in low relief upon an architrave of some previous building, possibly of the second or first century B. C. This architrave apparently consisted of two pieces of stone which when placed in the wall of the present church were reversed so that the figures illustrating the Greek month Pyanopsion (latter half of October and first half of November), which originally appeared at the beginning of the frieze, now appear in the center. A more serious consequence of this mistake followed in that the length of the combined blocks was too great and the outer ends were trimmed, thus cutting off some of the figures, while the unsculptured sections of the original ends of the architrave remain today at the present middle point of the frieze. In this way all of the figures which illustrated the month Anthesterion (February–March), and possibly one figure from each of the adjoining months, have been lost. In consequence of the reversal of the two blocks, the first figures at the left of the frieze as it is now set in the wall are those illustrating the month Elaphebolian (March–April).

Although it was recognized from the very first that certain figures in this frieze referred to the religious celebrations of the Greeks, others remained for years unexplained or were given contradictory interpretations. One point of difference sprang from the question

* Numerals in parenthesis following the names of works, as here, refer to the number under which the work is listed in the Catalogue, pp. 117 ff. Bibliographical references will be found in that place. Illustrations will figure under the same number in the plates.

whether any of the figures actually represents by personification the month itself. Riegl and others have held that the months are not so personified, other scholars, following the important discussion of Svoronos, that certain of the figures do represent the months themselves. In this state of affairs, and since no names are inscribed to help in identification, it will be well to conduct the discussion of the iconography of this frieze in logical order rather than by following the various steps in the history of its interpretation.* The proper order will consist in setting aside, first, the figures about which there can be least doubt, and proceeding thence to the more dubious ones.

A glance at the frieze reveals first that the series of figures is divided into groups by the recurring signs of the zodiac. Thus, at the original beginning of the frieze occur four figures followed by the representation of Scorpio (5), farther on is found Sagittarius (10), etc. The signs occur in their familiar form, with one or two exceptions, the most interesting of which is found in the last sign of the frieze (41). It was formerly called the Wreath; but, as Svoronos pointed out,† it should be interpreted as the "Pincers," or the first of the two constellations which make up the complete Scorpio; and, indeed, of these useful members the Scorpio (5) of this frieze has been deprived. This sign of the Pincers was replaced, in the zodiac as we know it, by the sign Libra, which does not appear on this frieze. The form of the signs in the other cases offers no difficulty; the dog-star Sirius (34), is added to the usual Leo (33), Taurus (23) is largely obliterated by the later addition of the cross, and the signs Aquarius and Pisces have been lost in the shortening of the blocks. Just which figure represents the sign Virgo has given some difficulty, but it can be identified with certainty if the relation of the signs to the other figures be noted. The zodiacal sign, in reading from left to right, comes after the other figures illustrating the month with which the sign is associated. This is shown clearly by the disposition of the figures at the two original ends of the frieze: the figures begin immediately after the uncut part of the block and then finally the sign Scorpio appears (5); likewise at the

* Svoronos gives synoptic tables summarizing the earlier interpretations.

† Pp. 31-32.

other end, the sign (41) comes last of all the figures in the relief, therefore after the figures of its month also. If corroboration were needed it could be furnished by some of the feasts referred to; thus Scorpio is the sign of the Month Pyanopsion (October–November), and among the figures which precede this sign on the frieze is a reference, in figure number 2, to the *Pyanopsia*, which was celebrated on the seventh day of that month,* indicating again that the sign comes after the figures which illustrate the month. With this relationship established, it follows that the figure number 38 must be Virgo. The figure number 35 has sometimes been proposed as Virgo; however, a month has just been closed by the sign Leo (33–34), and the clear and regular relationship of zodiacal sign to figures of its month would forbid the assumption that in this case the sign comes first. The figure must therefore be interpreted in some other way. On the other hand, number 38 is the only female figure in the following group, it occurs just where the logical ordering of the frieze would demand the sign, and it must consequently be the sign Virgo. Thus, the signs of the zodiac appear in figures number 5, 10, 14, 20, 23, 26, 29, 33–34, 38, and 41.

In working toward an answer to the question whether there are figures in this frieze which represent or personify the months, we shall find it advantageous to set aside next the figures which, gradually over a period of years, have been identified by Greek scholars, students of the history of astronomy, and archaeologists as referring to certain feasts or religious celebrations of the Attic Greeks. This line of investigation, at times departing into questionable hypotheses, to be later brought back to its true course by a succeeding scholar, has come to fruition in Deubner's very dependable summary. The celebration of the *Pyanopsia* is alluded to in the youth (2) carrying the *eiresione*, a branch hung with pastry and autumn fruits, the latter of which can be made out in the relief. The man with the grapes (3) refers to the *Oschophoria*, which honored Dionysus in the accomplishment of the vintage. The succeeding figure (4) almost certainly refers to the *Thesmophoria*, being, it seems, one of the celebrants who bore the

* Cf. Deubner, 198.

fertility principle from the realms of Demeter as part of the celebration of that feast. The figure of the plower (8), with his ox-team, accompanied by the sower, (9) doubtless represents the *Buzyge* of the ritual opening of the plowing season; the pointed cap, with top tied in a knot, may refer to the hieratic character of the event, which was possibly associated with the celebration of the feast of Zeus *Georgos*.* The three figures seated behind a table (13) must be the judges for games, as is shown by the two cocks and palm-branch represented on their table in symbolical reference to a contest; allusion is thus made to the contests in connection with the celebration of the lesser *Dionysia*, which occurred in this month Posideon. The child-like figure riding upon a goat (16) is the youthful Dionysus, as is shown by the goat and by the *thyrsos* which he carries (together with a wreath) in his left hand; the figure evidently refers to the celebration of the *Lenaiä*, which was a feast in honor of Dionysus. The veiled female figure (17) which follows is more difficult to identify; a plausible suggestion is that it represents a bride, and is thus a generalized reference to the marriages for which apparently the month of Gamelion, in which the figure occurs, was in some sort the official period.† The great *Dionysia* is recalled by the bearded figure (19) leading a goat; those who have observed the frieze *in situ* have thought to discover the slippers of the comic stage upon his limbs; in which case the reference is possibly to a victorious dramatic poet, expressing his gratitude in sacrifice to Dionysus. Figure number 22 is clearly Artemis; she wears a quiver and leads a deer by the horns; and the reference is to the celebration of the *Munichia*. The man clad in apron and boots, holding an ax, and the ox (28) just as clearly allude to the sacrifice of an ox in the celebration of the *Dipolieia*. The celebration of the *Panathenaia* is referred to in the ship upon its cart (32), which took its place in the procession celebrating that feast; despite the later carving of the cross over it, the prow and rudder and the wheels of the cart can be seen. Figure number 37 is clearly a representation of Herakles, muscular, with

* Cf. Deubner, 158; there seems no definite ground for relating the representation to the shadowy *Maimakteria*.

† Cf. Deubner, 117.

lion-skin and club, and must refer to some celebration honoring that hero. The chief feast in his honor at Athens was the *Herakleia en Kynosargei*, and the appearance of this figure here in the month Metageitnion is the chief evidence that the feast occurred in that month.* Finally, the youth galloping upon his horse (40) holds a place in the frieze analogous to that of the figures which allude to feasts, but no certain relationship has yet been discovered to any such celebration; it is possible that the figure is an allusion to the equitation of the ephebes which began in this month, Boedromion (September–October), a period of the year which is reported to be even in the Greece of today the most favorable for such exercises.† Three other figures may be mentioned here, although their interpretation is more dubious than in the case of the others above; they are the three female figures (12, 18, 31) which occur sometimes just to the left of figures alluding to celebrations. The left hand, in one case (18) holding a wreath, is usually extended, almost as if pointing to the figures of the ritual, which would imply that they are to be grouped with the latter. Consequently a possible explanation for these figures, always difficult to determine, is that each is a spectator, perhaps representing the *theoria*, the official spectators, as it were, sent to represent a city at such events; and the hypothesis gains additional credibility from the fact that the figures are introduced with the two greatest state feasts and the most popular feast of the people, that is, the lesser and the greater *Dionysia* and the *Panathenaia*.

The general character of the frieze is thus clear. It is divided into twelve sections, one for each month, indicated by the signs of the zodiac; and the months are illustrated, illumined, as it were, for the mind of the Greek citizen who viewed the frieze, by references to the experience and ideas of his race as these had been objectified in the great ritual observances of his religion. With so much determined one might rest content, as did Riegl, to emphasize the high and epic character which such material gives to this cycle of the illustrations of the months. However, thirteen figures remain unexplained; and there is

* Cf. Deubner, 226.

† Svonoros, 67.

evidence, circumstantial but compelling, to indicate that these are not, as Riegl and others assumed, merely additional spectators or participants in the above celebrations, nor figures referring to other celebrations which have not yet been identified. Having set aside the figures which can be interpreted on the basis of astronomy and of our knowledge of the life of the Greeks, we may now turn to those remaining, the explanation of which must necessarily be more hypothetical.

Since there are no earlier calendars or illustrations of the months in Greek art with which to compare the remaining figures, identification must depend on indications found in the work itself. The most important clue appears at once if we glance over the thirteen figures which remain unexplained, that is, numbers 15, 21, 24, 25, 27, 30, 35, 36, 39, 1, 6, 7, and 11; they always occur first among the figures which illustrate a given month. It cannot be mere accident that they occur with this regularity of order, for it would be entirely unreasonable to assume that all the figures of this frieze whose connection with Greek life and religion we have been unable to explain should occur merely by chance in this unvarying position within the group of figures which illustrate each month. There must be some consistent idea back of this striking fact, and the most plausible explanation is that they are the figures of the months themselves. As a final step in the iconographical study of the frieze, therefore, this hypothesis should be tested by use.

It will be noted that although in most of the months only one figure remains unexplained, in certain months there are two, that is, numbers 24 and 25, 35 and 36, and 6 and 7. If the hypothesis that personifications of the individual months occur in this frieze is to hold good, some reasonable and consistent explanation must be found for these double figures, which also occur, be it noted, at the beginning of their respective months. Such an explanation can indeed be found, for, within the groups of two, the figures are differentiated again with striking regularity: the second of the two is always the more like the single figures in the other months (Nos. 15, 21, 27, etc.), and must be the figure of the month if the latter is represented at all. The first of

the two figures, curiously enough, is characterized in each case by a more active pose. The first of those mentioned above, number 24, is nude and carries a few stalks of corn in his left arm; the right possibly held a sickle. The second, number 35, is a winged female form carrying a platter of fruits, and the third, number 6, is a man heavily cloaked. When the month in which these three figures appear is noted, their correct interpretation becomes fairly apparent, for they occur as the first figures in the months Thargelion (May–June), Metageitnion (August–September), and Maimakterion (November–December). They must be the personifications of the seasons of the year, figure number 6 being Winter cloaked against the cold, number 24 Summer, his nudity referring to the heat of that season and his corn and sickle to the harvest of grain, and number 35 Autumn, with reference to the harvest of fruits.

That the remaining figures (Nos. 15, 21, 25, 27, 30, 36, 39, 1, 7, and 11), a single one to each month, are the personifications of the months there can be little doubt. A close examination shows that they vary somewhat as to their clothing, with the seasons. For instance, in the winter months they are well robed, in the height of summer Skirophorion (27) wears no clothing at all, and other months of the warmer year are half nude.* The uniformity and passivity of their pose should be noted; they take no part in the feasts, nor are they so strikingly characterized as the seasons. Finally, when taken in conjunction with the above, the most compelling reason for seeing them as the personifications of the months is found in the place which they take in the frieze. It cannot be by chance that each of these strikingly uniform figures, which yet vary consistently in clothing with the temperature, occurs at the beginning of the figures for its month. The clarity and logic of the arrangement are obvious; the illustration of each month regularly opens with the figure of the month, then follow references to religious observances occurring within that month, and the illustra-

* That the three figures (Nos. 12, 18, 31) were correctly ruled out of consideration as months above (P. 9) becomes more clearly apparent now. Their clothing does not vary with the season; it is the same in winter (12) as in summer (31). Moreover, these three figures are feminine, whereas the figures of the months are masculine.

tion closes with the zodiac sign of the month. At the beginning of each season the personification of the season precedes the figure of the month, logically, since the season includes all three of the succeeding months and thus is placed at the head of its period of time, just as the months are placed at the head of theirs.

We are thus forced to the conclusion that Riegl erred in his contention that there were no personifications of the months in this frieze and therefore in Greek art. He correctly emphasized the epic character of the work, with its constantly recurring references to the great religious celebrations of the Greeks. However, his view that the Attic Greeks refused to personify periods of time seems, at least for the period of this frieze, untenable. He himself noted that such reticence was not characteristic of Hellenistic art in general and alluded to the description by Athenaeus* of a procession at Alexandria in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus in which marched the forms of the year, the seasons, and other periods of time. But, if the conception of a personification of a period of time was present in the Hellenistic world of the third century B. C. it seems rather hazardous to argue that it could not appear in this frieze at Athens, which is probably at least a century later; this frieze could conceivably furnish the first case of such personifications in the art of Attic Greece.†

The frieze of Hagios Eleutherios, then, gives us the first example in the classic tradition of the illustration of the months. The importance of the personification of the month is clearly revealed in the month Thargelion (May–June); here the zodiac sign (26) marks the month, identifies it, and the illustration consists, in addition, only of the figure of the month itself (25). The essential basis of the usage here represented is therefore in the personification of the month, each month being distinguished from others chiefly by the appropriate sign of the zodiac. In most of the months, however, this essential basis is ex-

* The description by Athenaeus appears in *Deipnosophistae* v. 198. It is incorporated in Bernard Montfaucon's *L'antiquité expliquée* (Paris 1722, 2nd ed.) III, part 2, 302 ff.

† Svoronos went to the other extreme and saw each group of the figures which refer to feasts as the personification of some period of time within the month, an unwarranted conclusion, as was pointed out by Robert in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1899, part 2, 544 ff.

panded by the inclusion, between these two elements, of references to religious celebrations.

In general the frieze shows the desire to mark out the year by relating it to the astronomical bases of chronology in the zodiacal signs, to relate it furthermore to the course of nature on earth in the indications of changes in temperature throughout the year as noted above, and finally to relate it to the characteristic human activity of the people which produced it. These references to human activity, however, come not directly, but through the medium of the religious celebrations: to the harvest through the Pyanopsia (Nos. 2 and 3), to plowing not through an ordinary farmer at his plow but through the representation of the ritual opening of the plowing season.* Finally, the basic form of the antique illustration of the months appears already established in this frieze, being found in the figures which personify the months. It consists essentially of a single figure, regularly in a passive pose, which makes reference to the character of the month, or its characteristic occupations, through attributes. The latter element will be the most subject to change in other antique cycles, and it is not emphasized here, being confined chiefly to variations in costume. The figure of the month Gamelion, however, seems to develop the element more explicitly; it wears a garland or wreath on its head, possibly in reference to the marriages of that month, and, if this is so, the figure foreshadows the antique illustration as it will be more fully developed later, when the single, passive figure will refer through attributes (here the garland), in most explicit manner, to characteristic features of the month.

For the sake of clarity in presenting the actual state of our knowledge of the illustration of the months in the ancient world, we may turn at once from the early example of Hagios Eleutherios to the most elaborate development of this type of illustration; other examples will then fall easily into place between these two important examples, early and late, of the antique illustration of the months. The later example, produced in the declining age of Roman art, is the well

* Figures Nos. 17 and 40 may introduce a minor reference to ordinary human activity, but their meaning is still doubtful, as noted above.

known Chronograph of 354 (7) which was written in that year for a certain Valentinus and inscribed by Furius Dionysius Filocalus, the designer of the inscriptions of Pope Damasus. The original no longer exists, the illustrations being preserved principally in two copies—one of the late fifteenth century at Vienna* and one of the seventeenth century at Rome†—each being a copy of a ninth-century copy of the original. The representation of each month is accompanied by verses‡ which so closely accord with the illustrations as to offer some assurance of the faithfulness of the copies, which might otherwise be questioned by reason of their distance from the original. We may therefore be assured that the illustrations, as published in Strzygowski's thorough study, present with dependable, if not absolute, accuracy the cycle of A. D. 354. Here the religious connection as it was found in the Athenian frieze remains, at least in part; thus January is illustrated by a man making an offering to the Lares, April presents a priest of Venus dancing before a statue of the goddess, and for November a priest of Isis appears with the *sistrum* or ceremonial rattle, a snake and other ceremonial objects upon a platter. Even when this element is not emphasized there is often some reference to the god to whom the month was sacred; thus in the illustration of March, which shows a youth, a bounding goat, and the swallows of spring, the figure is clad in the skin of the wolf, sacred to Mars. A rough notation of the seasonal changes in climate is given, as in the frieze of Hagios Eleutherios, by the amount of clothing worn by the figures; the torch and sun-dial in the illustration for June indicate both the heat of summer and the fact that the sun reaches its high point in the heavens in that month, and so on. The effect of these changes on the earth and its produce is indicated by the fruits and flowers which are included for the appropriate months, and the scenes go so far as to refer explicitly to the activity of man; thus a sickle recalls the work of harvesting grain in June, and in December a bundle of dead birds alludes to the

* Staatsbibliothek 3416. A fragment of its ninth-century archetype (or a sister manuscript) is preserved at Berne, MS. 108.

† Vatican Library, Barb. xxxi, 39.

‡ See Appendix B.

activity of hunting. In general the illustrations are much richer in these allusions to characteristic features of the month, whether of the processes of nature or the activities of man, than in the frieze at Athens, a richness more easily attainable in a drawing or painting than in sculptured representations.

The growth of this element which makes reference to the characteristic features of the month has resulted in a certain departure from the straightforward use of personification found in the earlier example. In the frieze at Athens, the representation of the months (as distinguished from their illustration by the representation of events occurring within or associated with them) is based regularly upon personification: the single figure personifies the month. In the Chronograph of 354, some of the months, but not all of them, follow this usage simply and directly. Thus the figure in the illustration of June actually holds the torch and so clearly personifies June, which brings the heat of summer. Again, in March the figure, partly because it is not easily referred to anything else, may be taken as a personification of the month, and the composer of the verses which accompany the illustrations apparently assumed as much, for he says, "This month can be easily recognized by the wolf's skin which he wears."* In such illustrations as those for February, September, October, there is no such incontrovertible evidence, but the illustrations doubtless are conceived in the general habit of personification.

In other months, however, personification no longer seems to be the essential element in the illustration. Such figures as that which illustrates January, where a man makes an offering to the Lares, or those of April and November, which must certainly have appeared to the artist and his patrons as representations, not of the months, but of religious celebrants, can only by a very loose construction of the term be called personifications of the months. The illustration of December is particularly clear on this point: the figure represented is one of the slaves who in Rome enjoyed certain liberties at the time of the festivities of the *Saturnalia* in December, liberties which extended, so the verses tell us, even to the privilege of playing at dice with his master.

* See Appendix B.

The indirect reference to the *Saturnalia* recalls the references to religious celebrations in the frieze of Hagios Eleutherios, but there the figure which represents* the month and the figures which refer to the celebration are separate—for instance figures 27 and 28 of the frieze. In the illustration for December of the Chronograph, however, the very figure which one would expect to be the personification casts the dice upon the table, and is thus transformed from a personification into a Roman slave. The form of the illustrations seems to be derived from that of personifications, for the artist holds to a single figure; the slave's master does not appear. This derivation is supported by indications found in this cycle in general, not only by the evidence of the verses in certain cases, by the occasional figures which, as noted above, must be interpreted on internal evidence as personifications, but, above all, by the resolute reduction of the illustration to a single, passive figure, the form most appropriate to the personification.†

Thus the illustrations of the Chronograph are based upon personifications, but some of the figures have ceased to be such. They show that the personifications of the months have occasionally yielded, by the end of the Roman period at least, to the desire to relate the single figure more directly to characteristic features of life during the month, so that it ceases to be a personification and becomes an anonymous contemporary figure referring to the particular activity or event selected as characteristic of the month.‡ The activities carried on during the month are recalled, not by representing the activity itself, but by means of certain objects grouped as attributes around the figure, sometimes the fruit of the activity, sometimes the tool, objects which symbolize, as by a kind of pictorial metonymy, the chosen labor.

* Strictly, the term "representation" should be used only for personifications; such scenes as the December of the Chronograph should be termed "illustrations," which is the broader term and covers all cases.

† This has doubtless fostered the tendency to speak of these illustrations indiscriminately as simple personifications of the months.

‡ The illustrations of the Chronograph would grow naturally from such personifications as those in the frieze at Athens, not from the figures of gods (see Catalogue, Nos. 5 and 6), which nevertheless seem to have served as illustrations of the months before the type represented by the Chronograph was adopted at Rome. Cf. Riegl's article cited under No. 6.

Thus, in December, what we may assume to be the more ordinary "occupation" of the month, the hunting of birds, is indicated by the small bundle of dead birds tucked away in one corner of the illustration; the occupation of reaping in June, a month in which the figure is a personification, is indicated merely by the inclusion of a sickle which is not even held in the hand of the figure. Such symbolic rendering of occupations, if we may so use the term, is the regular practice in the illustrations of the Chronograph of 354.

The scenes of the Chronograph are unusually elaborate, but they were not newly devised in honor of the occasion, as is amply shown by the fragments of other cycles which contain similar and sometimes almost identical scenes. Two of the four scenes which remain from a mosaic illustrating the months discovered at Carthage and removed thence to the British Museum (10) reveal a striking similarity to the scenes of the Chronograph; April is illustrated by the same theme of the celebrant of Venus, who dances before a statue of the goddess, although in this case it is a priestess instead of the male figure of the Chronograph. In the month of November appears the celebrant of Isis, holding the *sistrum*; unfortunately most of this scene has been destroyed, and the presence of the other ritual objects cannot be verified. In the scene illustrating March a seated woman points to a bird in a tree, a large bucket rests upon the ground and two small baskets sit upon a table or podium nearby. This scene therefore departs from the representation of a youth clad in a wolfskin, which illustrates March in the Chronograph; it should be noted, however, that the illustrations have two important details in common: a bird, at which the figure points in both cases, and the large bucket. The correspondence is so striking that we must assume that these details in the mosaic from Carthage are explained by the verses which accompany the scenes in the Chronograph; the details are the bucket of milk and the sparrow—not so much herald as busybody of Spring—which betoken the reawakening of life in the new season of the year. The fourth illustration, that of July, differs also from the Chronograph in general theme; it represents a woman spearing berries from a bowl with a slender stick, but again it should be noted that the reference to berries

appears also in the Chronograph, where they are held in a basket by the nude male figure. The mosaic from Carthage therefore reveals the presence of a widespread tradition of month-illustrations in the Roman world, a tradition common to both the Chronograph and the mosaic, as is shown by the appearance of the same themes and details; but the variations show that the two sets of illustrations were not taken from the same model.

Another echo of this tradition is found in a mosaic from the "Auditorium of Maecenas" on the Esquiline, now in the Capitoline Museum at Rome (9), which illustrates the month of May with the theme of the flower-bearer; the figure stands in front of what is apparently a representation of the sills of a window, as found in the representation of March in the Chronograph of 354. The illustration is clearly of the same type as those of the Chronograph, and the correspondence in theme shows that this was a part of no radically different cycle. Another mosaic, however, in the Hermitage at Leningrad (8), preserves a figure of an earlier style, a style much nearer to the classic age of Roman art; here a boy stands with a dish of fruit and a basket of crabs (?), while two fish lie upon a bench and one upon the floor near him, two objects upon the table remaining unidentified. The inscription gives the name of the month, June, and reveals an illustration which departs somewhat from the cycle of the Chronograph. The two illustrations have in common the reference to the harvest of fruits in the summer, but the illustration in the Hermitage omits the references to the heat of the midsummer season, the reaping of the ripened grain, and the midsummer solstice, to all of which the illustration of the Chronograph symbolically alludes. That the references to the solstice occur in the verses which accompany the illustration of the Chronograph shows that it is an important part of the illustration; that it does not appear in the mosaic of the Hermitage indicates that the latter belongs to another and variant cycle of the illustrations of the months in Roman art. The general correspondence as to type of illustration and the agreement in reference to fruit show that the two can well belong to the same tradition of month-illustration, but the differences indicate that they belong to two divergent lines of descent

within this type and within the field of Roman art. Strzygowski* has pointed out that although the verses† which accompany the illustrations of the Chronograph are clearly written with illustrations in view, they were not written for this cycle preserved in the drawings today, and that the cycle which inspired the verses is the older. The verses were dated by Baehrens‡ in the second century, and if they and the illustrations of the Chronograph, as seems likely, had a common archetype, it may therefore have been made up in the second, possibly the first century. The interest of the June of the Hermitage lies then in the fact that the style seems so early that the illustration must represent a cycle of a period almost as early as that of the archetype of the illustrations of the Chronograph and its accompanying verses.§ It is a different cycle, however, for the scene is not the reference to mid-summer heat and grain of the June of the Chronograph; it is a cycle which ran parallel to the cycle of which the Chronograph is the last representative. It should be noted further that there is an important detail common to the two illustrations, that is, the tall basket of fruit which stands in the left corner of each illustration; the two cycles are not entirely alien (possibly because of the simple fact that fruits did ripen by June), and the mosaic lies within the same broad tradition which appears in the verses, the Chronograph, and the later mosaics from the Esquiline and from Carthage. The appearance of the fish and the basket of crabs (?) is foreign to the other cycles, and it is barely possible that the crabs were inspired by the thought of Cancer, the sign of the zodiac; for at this time we might allow greater variation on the part of the individual artist or patron than could be assumed in

* *Jahrbuch, Ergänzungsheft* I, 82 ff., cited above.

† See Appendix B.

‡ Emil Baehrens, *Poetae latini minores* (Leipzig 1879), I, 206; Cf. Strzygowski, *loc. cit.*, 49.

§ Korsunski has pointed out the elements of space in the composition of the Mosaic in the Hermitage, notably the diagonal placing of objects (table) and a certain impressionism in the treatment of the head, and has suggested that the illustration may have been made up as early as the first century (time of the Fourth Style at Pompeii), therefore possibly antedating the archetype of the verses and of the Chronograph. It is perhaps too hazardous to build upon any assumption that the mosaic in the Hermitage represents a cycle earlier than the end of the second century. The publication of the mosaics from Antioch should give additional means for dating such mosaics.

the Middle Ages. The similarity in general form to the mosaic of May from the Esquiline is clear, and both are framed with the same dentil border.

Another mosaic discovered at Carthage (11) preserves the figures of all twelve months. These figures are disposed in a circle around two seated figures in the center holding a horn of abundance. At the four corners are the four seasons, identified by their names, as are the figures illustrating the months. The type of illustration is that of the Chronograph and the other Roman examples discussed, that is, each month is illustrated by a single figure which holds, or is accompanied by, objects which refer to the character or occupation of that month. There are, moreover, numerous coincidences in details which show that the cycle stems from the same general source as the Chronograph. Thus in January the cock appears. The pose of February is the same, although reversed; the mantle is drawn over the head in the same manner; she holds a bird, and the goose appears below; it is thus the same scene which is found in the Chronograph. In March the vase of milk reappears, the figure is again clad in the wolfskin, and the reference to animals is present, although here it is a kid carried in the arms of the figure, whereas in the Chronograph a goat bounds beside him. Here the figure may represent a shepherd; the youth in the Chronograph is a more ideal character.* For May a female figure holds a basket of fruit in both cycles; July too holds fruits of some kind. The correspondence with the Chronograph in the case of October is striking; the figure marches to the right in the same pose and holds a hare over a large vase. In November appears the goose, sacred for the festival of Isis, which is more fully illustrated by the figure of the priest in the Chronograph. For December the hunting of birds is again noted, although here it is the principal concern of the illustration, not, as in the Chronograph, relegated to a minor place. The

* These references to animals probably spring from the idea of animal husbandry, rather than from the influence of the zodiac sign, Aries, although there are cases where the sign possibly influenced the mediaeval representations; the modern proverb about March seems to have had such a reference, for its original form ran, "March black ram / Comes in like a lion / Goes out like a lamb." Cf. Archer Taylor, *The Proverb* (Cambridge, [Mass.] 1931), 111.

December variant may serve to emphasize the difference between the two cycles; the cycle in the mosaic is more intimately bound up with rural life, whereas that of the Chronograph has taken on a more urban or social character—the hunting of birds is indicated but has been displaced in importance by an episode of more interest in the city, the slave playing at dice. The two cycles, however, are intimately connected, and the unusually elaborate nature of the cycle in the Chronograph may account for many of the differences.

This Roman tradition of the illustration of the months is thus preserved in parts or all of five cycles of illustrations, six if we count the verses, which seem to refer to a slightly different cycle from that of the illustrations of the Chronograph.* That there may be more than one tradition here, stemming from more than one archetype, is suggested at certain points, particularly by the June of the Hermitage. Where several illustrations remain for a given month, however, a certain underlying agreement can be noted in both the form of the illustration, which continues and elaborates that already seen in the frieze of Hagios Eleutherios, and in the content of references made by the attributes, so that the conclusion suggested by this material is that there was a rich and loosely organized tradition of illustration of the months which was apt to be developed in slightly divergent ways in a given set of illustrations. The months in which this tradition can be most clearly glimpsed are: March, with its theme of the "Signs of Spring," expressed in the sparrow, the milk-bucket, and the growing grasses; April, with its theme of the worship of Venus; May, with its theme of flowers carried in a basket; June, with its fruit in a basket; and November, with its cult of Isis. Slightly less clear is the reference to berries in July (three times in four), since corn is referred to twice for this month. In other months there are regularly only two cases (three if we count the verses) from which to determine the theme,

* There are reports, perhaps not completely dependable, of a figure of May, as Flower-bearer, or June, with a basket of fruit, from a third mosaic of the months discovered at Carthage, but destroyed during removal. Cf. Nathan Davis, *Carthage and Her Remains* (London and New York 1861), 166; Charles Ernest Beulé, *Fouilles à Carthage* (Paris 1861), 37, (cited by Strzygowski; not accessible to me); Strzygowski, *Jahrbuch, Ergänzungsheft I*, 50.

that is, the Chronograph and the mosaic from Carthage (11), which does not allow of any assurance in stating a Roman theme for the separate months. Because of the more elaborate character of the Chronograph, one would suppose that it amplifies and departs from the usual Roman cycle rather than the mosaic from Carthage, which would represent the more ordinary illustration.

The appearance of these cycles at different points in the Roman world raises the question whether other connections with this tradition cannot be found. The answer is suggested by a very interesting miniature which occurs in connection with an astronomical text of Ptolemy in an early ninth-century manuscript of the Vatican Library, MS. gr. 1291 (20). The miniature, of circular form, contains a representation of Helios in his chariot at the center; around this is a circle with personifications of twelve hours, in another concentric circle are figures illustrating the twelve months of the year, and in the outer circle are the signs of the zodiac. This miniature gains greatly in importance because the date of the entry of the sun into the zodiacal sign is given for each month, extending even to hour and minute. As the date at which the sun entered the signs can be calculated for any year, this allows the determination of the date when this miniature was made up: about A. D. 250.

The form already seen in the cycles at Carthage, that is, the circular arrangement of the twelve figures in a single illustration, is found in this picture of the third century, and the type of illustration of the separate months is again that of the Chronograph and of the mosaics from Carthage: a passive figure, in the miniature only half-length, carries certain objects. The correspondence extends at times beyond the form to details of the individual themes. As in the larger mosaic from Carthage (11), the figure for February wears her mantle pulled over her head, and that of May again carries a basket of large round fruits; the figures for June in both cycles seem to be carrying something held up rather high in a fold of the mantle, and the forked stick, emblematic of the winter season, which the figure of December bears in the miniature, may possibly be represented in the object which January holds in his hand in the mosaic. There are also correspond-

ences in details with some of the scenes of the Chronograph of 354. The hooded figure in February, the reference to fruits in May, and the pose of the figure for July, with a basket in the left arm and the right stretched out in the same manner, may be noted.* The evidence of this miniature, then, shows clearly that the Roman tradition discussed above is related to illustrations made up in Alexandria† and suggests that this tradition may well have spread over the Mediterranean world from that center of astronomical science; illustrations for astronomical manuscripts such as this one may have played a large part in spreading such illustrations.

The importance of this miniature is by no means confined to its connections with Roman cycles; its relationships extend in the other direction, to the east and into Byzantine art. The evidence for this is chiefly found in two of the sixth-century mosaic pavements recently discovered at Beisan (Palestine), the ancient city of Beth-Shan in the valley of Jezreel. One of these, laid in a building known as the Monastery of Lady Mary (18),‡ presents in its central portion the illustrations of the twelve months of the year grouped around two busts personifying the sun and the moon in the center. The type of illustration is the same as in the examples of Rome and of Alexandria already discussed, although the emphasis on rural occupations recalls more nearly the mosaic from Carthage (11) and thus sets the cycle somewhat apart from that of the Chronograph. Several details in this mosaic of Beisan may be paralleled in the mosaic from Carthage; thus the two-pronged hoe which the figure for February here carries over his shoulder is there found on the ground beside the figure, and the figure of April which carries a kid in its arms is paralleled by the figure of March at Carthage. The most interesting parallels, however, are

* Boll has suggested that the object (?) represented in the left hand of the figure for November is the ceremonial platter as held by the priest of Isis in the illustration for the same month in the Chronograph. Examination of the actual miniature makes this very doubtful unless the small size of the figures can be held to explain the lack of clearness, for it is simply a red spot as it stands, and certainly is not a platter with ceremonial objects on it.

† Cf. also the two reliefs from Egypt, below p. 33, which are very much like the illustrations of the Chronograph.

‡ Discovered in 1931 by an expedition of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. I owe a photograph of the mosaic to the kindness of Mr. Horace H. F. Jayne, Director of the Museum.

with the manuscript of the Vatican, for the very distinctive scene of the Warrior, used to illustrate March, occurs in both cycles, and in both the month of September is illustrated by a figure carrying a double basket on a yoke, probably a reference to the vintage, although in the mosaic the artist has drawn the yoke in an illogical position under the arms of the figure. The illustration of March by the Warrior is a distinctive mark of the developed Byzantine illustrations of the months, and the importance of this mosaic lies partly in the fact that it makes clearer the derivation of the Byzantine cycle, bringing a welcome monument into the long gap which has hitherto separated the third-century Alexandrian miniature from the first Byzantine example, of the eleventh century, contained in a Gospel book in St. Mark's Library in Venice (22).

Another pavement has been discovered at Beisan, at a site nearby known as El Hamman (15). There, in the narthex of a Christian building, was a panel containing representations of the months; part of it has been destroyed, but the figures of July, August, September, November, and December remain. The illustration of the individual months is of exactly the same type as that already found at Rome and Alexandria and in the mosaic from Beisan just discussed; it follows the same usage as the last mentioned in giving the Latin names of the months, and the number of days in each, although in Greek letters. The figure of July is apparently the theme of fruits of summer, held in a basket, as seen in the same month in the Alexandrian manuscript of the Vatican, and in the mosaic from Carthage (although held on the opposite side of the body in the latter case). The object on the shoulder of the figure in September suggests a jar at first sight, but the appearance of the figure carrying a basket of grapes on his shoulder in other cycles, notably in the other mosaic at Beisan (18), and the season of the year in which the figure occurs, make it likely that this is the familiar theme of gathering grapes for the vintage. The figure for November is largely effaced, but the basket-like object which he holds in his left arm recalls the basket of seed held in the same position by the figure illustrating December in the other mosaic from Beisan, and suggests that this figure probably illustrates the theme of sowing.

The cloaked figure for December seems to hold, as does the figure for February in the other mosaic, a mattock, referring to some kind of cultivation of the soil. Perhaps the most interesting of the figures is that which illustrates the month of August, for it introduces a theme which will be found regularly in the developed Byzantine cycles, that is, the reference to the heat of midsummer by the figure holding a fan; in this case he apparently holds a jar or vase also, perhaps an additional reference to the heat through the suggestion of drinking, the theme of the Chronograph of 354 for this month.

The importance of the mosaics from Beisan lies in the fact that they not only present illustrations of the months in a period heretofore lacking examples of this theme, but also that they form a background for the developed Byzantine cycle; they make clear that the latter, in which the characteristic scenes heretofore seemed isolated, developed out of the late antique illustrations of the months through such "proto-Byzantine" examples as these mosaics. The developed Byzantine illustration of the months, within the limits of this study, is represented by only two pictorial cycles, that of a manuscript in the Library of St. Mark's at Venice (22), and the cycle in the Octateuchs (23),* although there are several sets of verses which refer to the months.† These pictorial cycles are of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and have apparently been influenced by the mediaeval cycles of the west, so that the mosaics from Beisan should perhaps be taken as the purer state of the "Byzantine" illustration of the months. In any case, a comparison of the later cycles with the mosaics shows that the peculiarly Byzantine themes are two: the Warrior for March and the reference to heat by the fan and by drinking for August.‡ The

* Although there are several illustrated Greek Octateuchs, they reveal their derivation from a common original and thus represent one cycle.

† Cf. Strykowski, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XI (1888), 23 ff., and Keil, in *Wiener Studien*, XI (1889) 94 ff. for the Byzantine poetry referring to the months.

‡ For a relief apparently illustrating the month of August, again holding a fan (?), see Xyngopoulos, in *Ἐπερηγίς τῆς ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν σπουδῶν* I (1924), 180 ff. and fig. 2. Scenes occurring in ivories seem occasionally to be related to, or drawn from, illustrations of the months; cf. Adolph Goldschmidt and Kurt Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Elfenbeinskulpturen des 10. bis 13. Jahrhunderts*, I, (Berlin 1930), 14, nos. 6a, 27b, 32f (not 32h, as given in the text, p. 14).

figure carrying the kid (?) in his arms for April is also a theme which is fairly distinctive of the Byzantine usage, although it also appeared in the mosaic from Carthage, but for the month of March. These distinctively Byzantine themes, particularly the warrior for March and the fan (heat) for August at one time seemed to be the later creations of developed Byzantine art. Today, however, the mosaics from Beisan and the manuscript of the Vatican show clearly that these themes go back to Hellenistic sources, and demonstrate once more the constancy of devotion on the part of Byzantine art to what was, after all, its own past.*

A fragment of another cycle of the months has been recently discovered in the excavations now being carried on at Antioch (2), which takes its place within the general type of illustration previously seen in the examples from Rome, Alexandria, and Palestine. This cycle from Antioch was contained in a mosaic pavement in which the figures of the twelve months were arranged in the familiar circular table, with a figure in the center (probably a bearded man) and figures of the seasons in the corners of the square which enclosed the circle. Unfortunately, only four of the months, together with two of the seasons, remain complete enough to afford any very definite idea as to their character and attributes. The names of the months, apparently following the Syro-Macedonian calendar, were originally inscribed in Greek letters above the figures; one of the inscriptions is almost intact and reads *Artemeisis* above a figure holding a vase in one hand and a wand or stick of some kind in the other. Inscriptions of the figures on either side of this figure are completely effaced; of that of the second figure to the right the last letters, *ros*, remain, and in the next space to the right (the figure being entirely destroyed) the initial letter *p* and the letters *ti* from the interior of the name, to judge by the placing of the letters in relation to the framing lines. It would thus seem probable that the last-mentioned fragment was originally the name *Peri-*

* Le Sénécals, *op. cit.*, 29, states that Byzantine art derived its illustrations of the months from Roman Christian art. Such a statement gives an erroneous impression. Byzantine art derived its illustrations of the months from the Hellenistic art of the eastern part of the Mediterranean, stemming from Alexandria, if any one center must be specified.

tios and that the four figures, or parts of figures, which remain are illustrations of the four succeeding months of the Syro-Macedonian calendar, that is Dystros, Xanthikos, Artemisios, and Daisios.* In the Syro-Macedonian calendar used at Antioch the month Dystros would correspond approximately to March.

The figures illustrating the months are of the usual type, although they differ somewhat in details from other cycles. The figure for Artemisios cannot be paralleled elsewhere. The figure for Daisios, apparently crowned with wheat and holding more of the same, probably refers to the harvests of summer. The attributes of the figure for Dystros are generalized, apparently a bowl, as of berries, in one hand and a staff (?) in the other. The figure illustrating Xanthikos is accompanied by a small animal such as a dog, kid, or goat, recalling the March of the Chronograph of 354, or the mosaics discussed above which refer to the shepherd in April. Some of the figures are male, some female.† This sets the cycle somewhat apart from the personifications of the frieze at Athens, even more from the pure personifications cited below (e.g. No. 14), both of which tended of course to use figures of one sex the more nearly they approached a set of undifferentiated figures, that is pure personifications. In this respect the mosaic of Antioch recalls the Chronograph of 354, although the figures are probably close enough in conception to the figures at Athens to be thought of predominantly as personifications. The mosaic is thus clearly of the same type of illustration of the months as the other examples studied; the differences in detail and in theme, however, suggest that it is not directly connected with the cycle of the Chronograph. The date and the correspondence in general type of illustration suggest that one should not too readily assume the presence of some one definite archetype from which these antique cycles such as the Chronograph and the mosaics from Carthage developed. What was certainly common was this general type of illustration, as also certain

* Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopaedie*, s. v. *Kalender*.

† The figures are distinguished as to sex chiefly on the basis of the flesh-tones. In the mosaics of Antioch male flesh is ordinarily dark and ruddy, female light pink. When no flesh is exposed it is sometimes impossible to decide. I am indebted to the courtesy of Franklin M. Biebel for a description of the colors of the mosaic which he made *in situ*.

ideas (e.g. "Harvest in June"); and the individual cases, at a period before dependence on a model was not so accentuated as in the Middle Ages, may well have followed the type with a good deal of latitude, producing individual cycles which follow it but do not necessarily copy another individual model in detail. At other times, doubtless, such a model was copied; evidence is too scanty to be quite certain in a case like the mosaic from Antioch. Another glimpse of such variations is offered by the months of January and February, which remain in a mosaic discovered at Argos (13). Here January is illustrated by a man holding a "handkerchief," possibly a magistrate about to cast it into the arena as a signal for the opening of the games, as suggested by Vollgraff; the figure for February seems to correspond more closely to the theme for that month in the Chronograph of 354, as it consists of a man holding two ducks in his hands.

In contrast to the widespread type seen in the above examples, another type appears in the later period of antique art; it is closer to the frieze of Hagios Eleutherios in that the figures seem to be simply personifications of the months, from which the cycles discussed above tended always to depart. A curious example is found in a glass zodiac from Tanis, of the Roman period, now in the British Museum (3). The figures are disposed in a circle on a small plate of glass; in an inner circle were the signs of the zodiac, of which only two remain. The months are represented by busts, most of which contain clues in themselves as to the month represented; thus, although March presents merely a draped female bust in profile, the youthful bust of April has short horns on its head, a curious reference to the zodiac sign of Taurus. May presents two busts, slightly facing, to represent the sign Gemini, the Twins. The bust illustrating June has four short crab's legs projecting from the sides of the head and two large claws from the top, to recall the sign Cancer. July is illustrated by a youth with bushy hair, perhaps a reference to Leo. August presents a thin-featured draped female, perhaps Virgo, and a more full-featured sprightly woman illustrates September—the scales are omitted if it is to be taken as a representation of Libra, the zodiac sign for that month. From the head-dress of October protrude four legs and two large

claws to recall the sign Scorpio. December shows an old man looking toward the right. The other months are too badly defaced to make out.

These figures, with certain possible exceptions such as May and August above, are not of course purely representations of the signs of the zodiac, and the uniformity of the figures precludes any reference to events or occupations characteristic of each month. Although the figure for April, for example, has horns, it is not Taurus; it neither performs any action nor holds any object which might refer to a particular time of the year; it must, then, be the month itself, a personification. These figures are therefore to be taken as actually personifying the months, being distinguished one from the other by the curious incorporation of details from the signs of the zodiac. The true signs of the zodiac occurred in the inner circle. The representation at the center, effaced, may have been the Sun, if we are to judge by like compositions,* while figures at the four corners, also effaced, probably represented the four seasons.

A similar use of personification in illustration of the months of the year is found in another example from Egypt, the *Goleniscev World Chronicle* (14), a papyrus from upper Egypt of ca. 401-430, in which the months are personified by a series of uniform busts, each apparently holding a platter of fruit. In this case, nothing differentiates the months one from the other. Additional scattered examples of the same usage have been cited, notably three sculptured busts from Achmin, † now in Berlin, which show the same conception, as well as two medallions, one of bone at Berlin and one of bronze in the Louvre. ‡ This type has also appeared in works from other districts; in a mosaic of A. D. 575 from Kabr-Hiram (Sur) in the vicinity of Tyre (19) the months are personified by busts undistinguished one from the other (except in minor details), and its use in the western part of the Mediterranean world is attested by a mosaic fragment in Catania (Sicily), §

* See Nos. 18, 20, 29.

† Published by Strzygowski, in *Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, LI (1906), II. Abhandlung, 146, figs. 6-7.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ *CIL*, X, 7036.

in which the months were personified by heads, each with its name above it, and by a statue group from Nîmes now in the British Museum* which may possibly represent two of the months.†

Another example of this type apparently occurred in a mosaic pavement of A. D. 531, in the church of St. John the Baptist at Jerash (16),‡ although the figures themselves have fallen victim to iconoclastic fury. That these destroyed representations, which occurred in panels within a perspective meander, were figures of the months is clear from the fragments of the inscriptions which give the Greek names of the months, as was regularly the custom in these pavements. The proportions of the panels in which the representations occur suggest that they were probably busts, since the panels are relatively broad and thus adapted to busts rather than to full-length figures. Therefore they were doubtless simple personifications.

Another mosaic at Jerash, also of the sixth century, is in the chapel at the southwest corner of the Cathedral (17). Here again the months were represented, as is shown by the fragments of inscriptions, although these figures, too, have been destroyed. It has been assumed that they also were busts, and that may indeed have been the case. It should be noted, however, that the proportions of the panels do not corroborate that hypothesis so clearly as in the case of the mosaic in the Church of St. John the Baptist and, indeed, suggest rather that these were full-length figures belonging to the type of illustration seen in the Chronograph of 354, the mosaics from Beisan, etc. The panels here are approximately square in shape (which might seem to indicate a bust), but seem regularly to have had some sort of vine or plant along the side of the panel, sometimes other objects, as the small taboret (?)

* Salomon Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine* (Paris 1897) II, 518, No. 5. Concerning the representation of the months in statuary, see the evidence cited by Strzygowski, *Jahrb.* 50-51, from the anonymous manuscript of Banduri, in which there is mention of twelve porticoes (*porticus*) in connection with the twelve months, "*duodecim vero porticus, duodecim mensium temperamenta aequabant,*" so as to suggest that there may have been statues of the months in the decoration of this Roman bath.

† Such scenes as those on the Alexandrian coins cited by Brandt, *op. cit.* 148, figs. 189, 190 (reaping and mowing) are not definitely related to the months; they seem to be inspired rather by the pseudo-ruralism familiar in Hellenistic reliefs.

‡ I am indebted to Franklin M. Biebel for material on the mosaics of Jerash.

or stool in the month Dios. Thus the effective space is reduced to a vertical rectangle and would suggest a standing figure with the inscription running across on each side of it, as in the mosaic from El Hamman at Beisan (15) in the case of the longer names, or confined to one side of the figure where the name was short. Moreover, if other objects occur with the figures (possibly a sheaf of grain appears in the month Daisios), such as the taboret (?) noted above, this would suggest the type of the Chronograph, which adds attributes to the figure in order to make reference to characteristic features of the month, whereas the type of illustration which uses the bust, if we judge by the examples where figures clearly remain, tends to the pure personification with no attributes to broaden the scope of the illustration. The shape of some of the patches, narrow at the top, broadening out at the bottom, which replace the destroyed figures, as for instance in the month *Gorpiaios*, does not prove that the figures were of bust length. Aside from the fact that this shape might have been produced by destroying, through accident or design, objects at the foot of the standing figures, it does not appear consistently throughout the series; the patch in Dios would suggest a simple standing figure. Complete certainty cannot be reached since the figures are missing, but such evidence as the work affords seems to indicate that this mosaic used the type of the Chronograph, not the type with bust only.

We are brought back to Roman art by evidence of still another type of illustration, in which the months were illustrated by representations of deities with which the individual months had become associated. The type differs, therefore, from both of those heretofore considered; the figure is not a personification, nor does it refer to characteristic features of the month which it illustrates. The usage is represented by an altar from Gabii (5), now in the Louvre, a flat circular block set upon a pedestal. Around the upper rim of the altar appear the heads of the gods, one for each month, accompanied by an attribute denoting the particular deity intended; below them are the zodiacal signs, one immediately below each of the gods. Another example of this usage is found in a mosaic from Trier (6), in which the months were again illustrated by busts which represented deities.

There may have been other types of illustration in Roman art, types which illustrated the daily occupations of the individual months; if so they have not survived.* Such "occupations" of the months are, however, recorded, though not illustrated, in the earliest type of Roman calendar, the *Menologia Rustica*,† examples of which are preserved as inscriptions upon vertical stone blocks, the data for three months being placed in vertical columns on each side of the block. The god for each month, the date of the nones, and occasional feasts are given in a dry and practical spirit. The occupational element is especially emphasized by the regular notation of the rural work to be done in each month, for example, sowing beans in December, burning stubble in August, etc.—and it is this element which formed the basis of the mediaeval illustrations. Although no illustrated form of this calendar has survived, this occupational element did achieve plastic expression at least occasionally in late antique art, as is shown by two interesting examples, one in mosaic, the other in sculptured relief.

The transition from a passive illustration of a period of time, with symbolical references to appropriate activities, to its active illustration by the representation of an occupation in actual performance, seems to have been less easy in the case of the months than of the seasons. Depictions of the latter are found in the early paintings of the catacombs; for instance, in the Catacomb of Pretestato are four scenes, apparently illustrating the seasons, in which *putti* are actively at work; in Spring they are making garlands, in Summer harvesting, in Autumn they are at the vintage, and in Winter gathering olives.‡ A more passive type went along with this, which is comparable to the

* For deductions as to earlier types of illustrations see Riegl, "Zur spätrömischen Ikonographie der Monaten" in *Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, XIII (1890), 9 ff. Beyond all of these, there may have been other, entirely different, illustrations of the months. Thus, there is mention of paintings in which each month was linked with a certain viand, a sort of gourmand's calendar (mentioned by Longuemar in *Bulletin monumental*, XXIII (1857), 272, with reference to Mazois, *Ruines de Pompeii*, II, 29 (not accessible to me), also Mazois, *Le Palais de Scaurus* [Paris 1869], 47).

† *CIL*, VI, 2305; Brandt, *op. cit.*, 147, fig. 188. For the complete list of the months see Appendix A.

‡ Josef Wilpert, *Le pitture delle catacombe romane* (Rome 1903), pls. 32-4, dated there in the second half of the second century; recent opinion, however, has tended to place none of the frescoes of the catacombs earlier than the third century.

illustrations of the Chronograph; thus, a mosaic found at St. Romain-en-Gal, near Vienne, in 1826* represents Bacchus, and, around him, in eight medallions, are four animals and the four seasons represented as small genii. Spring carries flowers, Summer holds a sickle, referring to reaping in the same manner as in the illustration for June in the Chronograph, Autumn holds grapes, and Winter, wrapped in a robe, carries a small weeder or hoe. Even closer to the illustrations of the Chronograph are two figures, possibly representing the seasons, of a fifth-century relief from Egypt published by Strzygowski;† one holds a basket (Spring?), the other birds and fishes (Winter?), and the form is so close to that of the illustrations of the Chronograph as to make it possible that these two figures derive from a series of representations of the months rather than of the seasons.‡

The active conception is found again in a second, more interesting mosaic from St. Romain-en-Gal (12). As before, the four seasons are represented by four genii accompanied by four animals, but here they are combined into four illustrations, the genii riding upon the animals; Spring, carrying flowers, rides upon a bull; Summer, with a sickle, on a lion; Autumn, garlanded, on a tiger; and Winter, heavily cloaked, upon a boar. In this mosaic there was added to each of the seasons a group of seven occupations which discard the passive form and depict actual human activity, as sowing beans, picking grapes, baking, etc. For Winter and Autumn all seven scenes remain; for Spring and Summer only two. The style is close to that of the ring-vault decoration of Sta. Costanza in Rome and apparently is to be dated in the third or fourth century. The mosaic, if it does not illustrate the months as such, at least offers an example of the illustration of certain periods of time by active occupations. From this it is only a

* Heron de Villefosse, in *Gazette archéologique*, V (1879), 150; F. Artaud, *Histoire de la peinture en mosaïque* (Lyons 1835), 118, pl. 57 (not accessible to me). Another mosaic, found at Lambesis (Algeria) reveals the seasons as busts, bearing the same attributes.

† *Römische Quartalschrift*, XII (1898), 6, fig. 2. The scratchings on the background of the relief interpreted as Spring would suggest a representation of sowing; however, Strzygowski records the same on the background of the other, although it does not appear in the published photograph. If sowing, the figures could be the months November and December.

‡ The complete publication of the excavations being carried on at Antioch will furnish numerous additional representations of the seasons in the mosaics found there.

step to choosing twelve such occupations and allotting them one to each month.

The mosaic from St. Romain-en-Gal thus offered a fertile source of occupations which could have been easily drawn upon in illustrating the months of the year. Perhaps another such repertory furnished the scenes for the one possible exception to antique art's dislike for illustrating the months by active occupations. This series is partly preserved in a Roman arch at Reims (4), in which twelve scenes decorated one of the vaults; seven of these scenes remain. They present the active character noted already in the mosaic—men are actually engaged in mowing, reaping, gathering fruit, etc.; there is an animated scene of shearing sheep, and threshing is indicated by a muzzled ox apparently thought of as treading out the corn. The scenes are arranged without thought for their proper chronological order; they are decorative as much as didactic, and there is still to be found in them an element of the idyllic spirit, the spirit of the eclogue. They do not yet reflect the simple seriousness which the labor of man had in the thought of the Middle Ages.

The arch at Reims closes the list of illustrations of the months in the antique art of the west.* For the progress of the theme between the Roman and the Carolingian periods, recourse must be had to Latin poetry, which often dealt with the months. These poems run from the *Hic Jani mensis* (B), the so-called *Tetrasticha Authentica*, the verses of which appear in the Chronograph of 354, to the later examples of the mediaeval period, long after the theme emerges again in extant pictorial representations. Of the intermediate period under discussion, two of the Eclogues of the fourth-century poet Ausonius are devoted to the months, one with a single line to each month, the other with a distich (E, F). Of the fifth century is the poem *De mensibus* (G) by Dracontius, as is the poem *Officia XII Mensium* (H). The poem *Laus Omnium Mensium* (I) is of the sixth, and the poem *Martius hic falcem* (J) possibly brings us as late as the eighth century,

* The reliefs on the Roman arch ("Porte noire") at Besançon do not refer to the months; Émile Jules Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule romaine* (Paris 1908), VII, no. 5270, with illustration.

to the period when the theme appears again in extant works of art.*

The conception under which the months are treated in these verses rests in general upon a basis of personification which becomes less dominant in the later poems. Its presence probably springs in part merely from the interest of the figure of speech, in part from the congenial relationship which seems to exist between the device of personification—with its mingled compactness of form and breadth and elevation of meaning—and the spirit of poetry itself. Sometimes this merges with, and is encouraged by, the natural thought of the month as being simply a part of nature and carrying on its work, as when the *Tetrasticha Authentica* speak of September as drying the grapes and ripening the apples. In like manner the early references to human activity, to "occupations," as when Ausonius associates October with sowing, are imbued with this poetic character; they are not the legitimate descendants of the severely practical references which were inscribed in the *Menologia Rustica*; they spring rather from the idyllic spirit whose interest in the activities of rural life was poetic rather than practical. Such association of month and occupation, however, could easily serve as the intermediary between the personificational and occupational conceptions of the months, as the descriptive and literal spirit of the Middle Ages was slowly formed. The gradual increase in importance of the occupational element in these poems must be due to that spirit.

* * *

Antique art, then, left to the Middle Ages a rich legacy of illustration of the months. Based in general upon personification, the illustrations divide themselves into three distinct types. One of these is the personification pure and simple, in which the figures are undifferentiated and do nothing but personify the given month, as in the World Chronicle from Egypt (14) or the mosaic from Kabr-Hiram (19). Another type of illustration consisted in the use of deities to

* These poems, given in the Appendix, pp. 104 ff., to the sections of which the letters in parentheses above refer, are presented as examples, not as a complete list of poems dealing with the months. The vagueness or discursiveness of the literary form would render a complete survey of no more value to the present study. The most complete collection known to me is that of Biadene, in *Studi di filologia romanza*, IX (1903), especially 90 ff.

illustrate the months, as in the altar from Gabii (5). The third type, to judge by remaining monuments, was the most frequently used; it was based on the concept of personification and may have developed from the first type above, for it could easily develop from the pure personification by varying the individual figures, as by clothing, etc., so as to express something of the character of the time of year which the individual month occupied, and finally by including attributes in the form of tools or other objects in reference to human occupations habitual to the month. This type is seen in an early stage of its development in the frieze of *Hagios Eleutherios* (1) at Athens and, at the end of its development, in the illustrations of the Chronograph of 354 (7). In the latter, the tendency to refer to habitual activities of the given month has developed so far that some of the figures can hardly have been thought of as personifications, but rather as illustrations of activity taking place in the given month, and it is the strength of this tendency which establishes the relatively close relationship between the antique illustrations of the Chronograph of 354 and the later illustrations of the Middle Ages. It is to this third and last type that we must refer when we speak, without qualification, of the antique illustration of the months.

What the antique world had created in the illustration of this theme was above all a form: the single figure, usually inclosed within a frame either abstract or architectural, passive, as regards any purposeful work—such movement as there may be is regularly conventional—and referring to any occupations by means of attributes. This passive, single figure, set within a frame, will be inherited by the mediaeval artist, and will create a problem when he wishes to realize a different, an active illustration. The artists of the arch at Reims and of the mosaic of St. Romain-en-Gal were still sufficiently imbued with the mental freedom of antiquity to create active illustrations with some ease. The artist of the early Middle Ages was more closely bound by the example of his predecessors, and one of the most interesting aspects of the period will be found in his attempts, which can be glimpsed at certain points, to escape from the antique form, devised for a passive type of illustration.

CHAPTER II

EARLY MIDDLE AGES

THE active occupational scene, foreshadowed in antique cycles by the mosaic of St. Romain-en-Gal and the triumphal arch at Reims, was the type of illustration adopted by the Middle Ages for the "labors of the months." Its first extant application to the illustration of the months is found in two manuscripts of the Salzburg school of manuscript illumination (24). They contain astronomical texts and the *De Rerum Natura* of Bede; one, at Munich, dates about 818, the other, at Vienna, not later than 830. The illustrations of the twelve months of the year are arranged on one page, in four registers, and seem to be copied from a common model of North France; the scenes are exactly the same in both manuscripts and are as follows:

January: warming; a man crouches warming his hands at a fire; the scene depicts an action, and is thus mediaeval. February: hunting with falcon; a man with a falcon (?) on his hand, which is closer to the antique form. March is illustrated by a curious scene in which a man holds a bird in his right hand and a snake in his left, which is explainable only by the verse of the *Carmina Salzburgiana*, "Martius educit serpentes, alite gaudet";* it seems thus a survival of an antique tendency to personification, that is, March, as an agent, personified, brings forth the serpents from hibernation. April: a man with a bundle in his arm beside a tree. May: flower-bearer; a man with flowers in his right hand and a vine (or string of onions or the like) in his left. June: plowing; a man with whip in hand driving two oxen hitched to a crude plow, a completely mediaeval illustration. July: mowing; a man with a scythe over his shoulder. Here the force of the antique heritage remains apparent; the figure is not actively mowing but

* See Appendix L.

carries the scythe, which refers indirectly to the occupation. August: reaping;* a man cutting a bundle of wheat with a sickle, again the active scene; two other bundles grow nearby as an additional literal touch. September: sowing; a man casting seed into a section of plowed ground which is crudely indicated. October: vintage, where two phases of the work are combined, gathering grapes, and filling casks with the new-made wine, i.e. a man plucks the grapes with his left hand, and with his right pours the wine into a cask which lies on the ground. November: killing hogs (?); a man stabs a hog with a long spear. December: killing hogs (or rather butchering, here); i.e., a man hacks a ham from the hog of November, this cycle being peculiar in its use of the same hog for the November and December illustrations.

To be compared with these illustrations are two sets of verses of the ninth century† also connected with Salzburg. The first series (K) comprises two distichs for each month, the first of which usually explains the name of the month, the second often referring to an occupation. The introduction of these references by some expression of time, as *quo*, *quando*, *in quo*, *hic*, foreshadows the mediaeval usage in that the action is thought of as taking place during the month, and there is no question of personification.

The second series (L) shows better the hesitancy between the antique and the mediaeval, and is closer to earlier verses‡ in the use of literary personification. A reference to an occupation often finds very definite expression, however—in seven cases, in fact, as against only six in the first series despite its greater length. The verses of the second series show a general correspondence with the illustrations of the two manuscripts of Salzburg, a correspondence which is striking in the case of March as noted above, and it is possible that February might be a misunderstanding of the phrase “portat aves manibus.” The figure for April may be explained by the words *gerit herbarum . . . maniplos*. October at any rate is associated with vintage both in the manuscript

* “Mowing” will be used to indicate cutting hay; “reaping,” wheat.

† “See Appendix, K and L.”

‡ See p. 35, above.

and in this second series of verses. The illustration of December would seem at first sight to be closer to the verses of Series I (K) which actually refer to killing hogs. However, the last line of the distich for November in Series II (L), *Horridus effuso saepe cruore madet*, may easily refer to the killing following the fattening which was referred to in the first line of the distich, occupations of feeding hogs and killing hogs being thus noted in one distich, as the corresponding illustrations of November and December in the two manuscripts are drawn into one composition. For the other months, the correspondence between the illustration of the manuscripts and the verses of this second series offers no difficulty.

The earliest preserved copies of these verses are slightly later in date than the two manuscripts. The verses, or at least their content as to occupations, may be assumed to have been current before they were written down, however, and the general parallelism, as well as closeness of date, between the verses and the illustrations suggests that this early pictorial cycle of the labors of the months is related to some such verses in origin. The strong occupational character is noteworthy in that it is fully developed at this early date; as will be seen later, the transition was not always so easy and complete as it is here.

What was the source of these scenes? Possibly, in part, antique cycles such as are represented by the mosaic from St. Romain-en-Gal or the arch at Reims. The scenes differ so markedly from such classic prototypes, however, that one is led to assume that they were in part not copied, but compiled, on the basis of ideas furnished in a set of verses, from some repertory of forms familiar to the artist and found originally in late antique art. Such sources, as has been suggested,* are represented by the reliefs of Roman commemorative monuments which exhibit many scenes of various content with figures in diverse poses. For instance, the figure of the man reaping (August) in the illustrations of Salzburg may be compared with a man engaged in the same occupation on the Column of Trajan.† There can hardly

* Erwin Panofsky and Fritz Saxl, *Dürers "Melencolia I"* [Studien der Bibliothek Warburg II] (Leipzig and Berlin 1923), 126, n. 3.

† Karl Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die Trajanssäule* (Berlin and Leipzig 1926), pl. 52.

be question of direct derivation here because in the figures of the two manuscripts there is none of the vigorous angular action which is found in the representations on the column, and one may note as a detail that the kind of keg used is not shaped like the one in the column.* As to the column of Marcus Aurelius, the action of the figures is closer here, but again the form of keg differs, and the oxen used are of entirely different conformation.† Closer are some of the scenes, later in date, which must have been derived from antique sources, found in the illustrations of the manuscript of Rhabanus Maurus, *De originibus rerum*, of 1023, at Montecassino;‡ here in particular the themes of reaping and plowing are nearer to the representations in the manuscripts of Salzburg. Such compendia of information offer perhaps the most likely source for the make-up of new scenes, and the creator of the cycle of Salzburg may have drawn upon some earlier one. In doing so, he may well have got his ideas for the themes of the individual months from a set of verses. This is suggested especially by the very curious scene of a man holding a snake and a bird; the unclear relationship between the bird and the hand supposed to be holding it shows that the scene may not have been copied as a whole from a model but may have been made up for this illustration—it is what would have happened if the artist were following the verse cited above and putting together his illustration to fit it. It seems therefore that the inspiration for the cycle was probably a series of verses which the artist was following in a general way, drawing his figures from his workshop tradition, which at this time (before the ninth century) harked back to late antique models such as the triumphal columns, or at times borrowed directly from definite scenes in illustrated encyclopaedias of the times such as the later *De originibus rerum* of Rhabanus Maurus.

At about the same time (i.e. mid-ninth century) but of a western origin, appear the elaborate verses on the months by Wandalbert,

* *Ibid.*, pl. 6.

† Petersen, von Domaszewski, and Calderini, *Die Marcus-Säule*, (Munich 1896), pls. 3, 108, 120.

‡ Ambrogio Maria Amelli, *Miniature sacre e profane dell'anno 1023*, etc. (Montecassino 1896), pls. 53, 55, 125.

monk of Prüm.* Of much greater length, they discuss the name, sign of the zodiac, meteorological data, and numerous occupations of each month. The verses depart from the antique conception in discarding personification, although there is an occasional lapse, as in the reference to the "laetos crines" of April. Further reminiscences of the antique are found in the language, in the reference to the *garrula hirundo* of March, which occurs in the March verses of the *Tetrasticha Authentica* (B) and is represented in the March illustration of the Chronograph (7), and in the words, *Ac Cererem flavam maturas stringere aristas cogunt*, applied to August, which recall the June verse of the *Tetrasticha Authentica* (B), *Iam falx maturas Cereris designat aristas*. The mediaeval character of the verses, however, is abundantly shown by the numerous references to occupations of each month.

The encyclopaedic tendency of the learned monk lessens the usefulness of the poem in determining the pictorial cycle which would have been found in his locality; for instance, cultivation of the soil is referred to in no less than five months. The general trend of the occupations, however, seems to point toward the French and German cycles established later, as might be expected from the location of Prüm. There is a slightly greater affinity to the French cycles, and, indeed, Wandalbert concludes in the last verse for December: *Huncque modum et morem sibi Gallica rura retentant*.

Another of Wandalbert's poems, a martyrology, was illustrated by a miniature for each of the months, and is preserved in a manuscript, *Reg. lat.* 438, of the Vatican Library (25), apparently executed in the Rhineland in the late ninth century. In these illustrations, the connection with the antique on the one hand and with the mediaeval on the other is clearly evident. The form of the scenes—a figure inclosed by an architectural frame—is fully reminiscent of the illustrations of the Chronograph of 354. Each month is illustrated by a single figure most often in the passive conception of the Chronograph, but sometimes the developing mediaeval spirit twists the figure into the pose of an active occupation, and it is this attempt to make use of the

* *De mensium duodecim nominibus signis culturis aerisque qualitibus*, edited by Duemmler, in *MGH, Poetae latini medii aevi* II, p. 604.

antique form to express the new concept of the labors of the months which lends this cycle much of its interest.

January is illustrated by a man holding Capricorn, the zodiacal sign, in his right hand, and what is apparently a small pig in his left. The sign is perhaps brought into such intimate relation with the figure in order to supply some of the animation lent to the illustrations of the Chronograph by the attributes with which the figures are accompanied there; the pig is apparently an allusion to the occupation of feasting, which was characteristic of this month in developed mediaeval cycles. The general form of the illustration is antique; the unrealistic pose (in a figure supposedly grappling with a hog) and the grasp of the left hand show that the older form has been modified simply by adding the detail in an external manner. The same thing is shown by the way in which the Capricorn projects across the architectural frame at the left. February is illustrated by a bearded man who pours water from a curious "hour-glass" jug; this refers to the zodiacal sign of Aquarius, and the illustration in its general outlines is simply a representation of him. The whole illustration may be compared with that for the same month in the Chronograph; there the vase occupies the same relative position in the miniature as does the jug in the Martyrology. Instead of the bird below, however, there is in the later illustration a fire, for the month of February was to be illustrated regularly by a scene of warming in the mediaeval cycles, and the idea of warming had already been expressed in some of the verses;* the fire is evidently the result of the artist's attempt to turn the model scene which he was following into a reference to the cold weather, but the result is unwittingly humorous, for it shows a man putting out the fire which should warm him.† In March, the man again holds the zodiacal sign, Pisces. April presents a young man holding flowers in his left hand and snapping the fingers of his right; Aries appears below at the

* Cf. Appendix K, L. Applied to January, but it is to be noted that the idea was already current for the Winter months.

† Koseleff, *op. cit.*, 21, says that the fire "hat wohl kaum etwas mit der Warmeszene zu tun," thinking it goes back rather to the Chronograph illustration; but if the illustration goes back to the Chronograph, there seems no reason for replacing the bird with a fire unless to attempt an expression of warming.

right; the animation of the gesture of the right hand is not enough to make any connection with the dancing priest of Venus, at least not in the version preserved in the Chronograph and the mosaic of Carthage. May is illustrated by a man crowned with flowers, holding flowering (?) twigs in his right hand, and apparently flowers in his left, drawn as if they were growing from his fingers. June shows a man, nude except for a breech-clout, holding aloft in his left hand a platter with two youthful busts on it, evidently the zodiacal sign Gemini, or the Twins; this curious presentation of the Twins may well be an attempt at rendering graphically the fact that the sun reaches its highest northerly point in June, paralleling the phrasing of a Latin verse concerning the months, "*Arce poli Geminos Iunius ecce locat*" (D). It is the same idea which is expressed by the sun-dial in the scene illustrating June in the Chronograph, and the object which the figure holds in his right hand may be a torch—a torch much more crudely drawn, certainly, than the torch which the figure in the Chronograph holds to symbolize the heat of summer. Such comparisons, however, are apt to impose, and the object may simply be a mediaeval addition, possibly a stalk of corn in reference to the harvest season; Riegl interpreted it as a whip, but the reason for giving it to the figure in June is not clear, unless it be a reference to threshing—which, however, will not occur this early in the later cycles.

The foregoing months show clearly that the miniaturist was following an antique cycle; with the illustration for July the force of his own age makes itself felt and the mediaeval element enters. The zodiacal sign, Cancer, at the lower right corner of the scene, marks the month. The figure swings a scythe, in reference to the occupation of mowing, carries a whetstone at his waist, and is clothed in more contemporary costume than the preceding figures. More important is the fact that the figure is in action; the miniaturist was thinking of one of his contemporaries actually cutting the hay in a meadow in June. The illustration offers an interesting example of the miscarriage of artistic effect which was likely to happen in the process of using an old form to express a new meaning. The form here used had arisen to present a passive illustration based upon a large, quiet human figure

such as is seen in the Chronograph; now, however, the figure has been given the scythe and put in action to express the mediaeval active occupation. By the size of the figure in relation to the frame, which was quite proper in the original form, and especially by the manner in which the tremendous reach of the scythe breaks through the established frame, the miniaturist has unwittingly given to his illustration a cosmic sweep which would form a suggestive accompaniment to, say, a personification of Time, or some such idea, but which does not accord perfectly with the theme of a common farmer engaged in the very familiar occupation of cutting grass. The effect is not calculated and controlled, as in the case of the same device in Baroque art, but appears as a miscarriage of form incidental to the effort of a bold but naïve man to attain his new objective on the basis of a borrowed form.

The scene for August achieves a more harmonious expression of the mediaeval active, factual representation of a rural occupation, which will be the characteristic mediaeval illustration of a month. Here the figure stoops, within the frame, and cuts a bunch of wheat with his sickle, an additional descriptive touch being given in the bound sheaf lying on the ground; the sign, Leo, is added at the lower right corner. The change in conception is clearly brought out in comparing this scene with that which illustrates June in the Chronograph of 354 (7). In both cases the occupation which is indicated in the scene is that of reaping, but in the antique illustration the emphasis is entirely different: the principal element of the scene is a human figure which exists somewhat in its own right, for its own beauty, as is proper in an art which made so much of the human form; the second element in importance is the reference to the larger life of nature given by the sun-dial, the torch, and the lily, the last indicating, as the verses tell us, the flight of flowers before the heat of summer; the least important element is the indication of the occupation of reaping by the sickle, which is merely placed beside the figure, as if an afterthought. The illustration is thus true to the ideal character of classic art; the reference to the occupation is made in a purely symbolic manner by means of an attribute included in the scene. In contrast to this, the mediaeval

usage, as in the illustration for August in this manuscript of the ninth century, presents the actual accomplishment of the task: the figure no longer appeals on its own account, but exists merely to take its part in the action which is depicted; it is active and contemporary; clothing, implements, and work are described to us in so far as they are essential for the simple task, and in this sense the scene is realistic, not symbolic or ideal.

In the illustration for October (that for September has been lost) the miniaturist falls back into the antique usage; a man holds the scales in his right hand and a vine in his left, the reference to the occupation (vintage) again appearing as an attribute. For November, a young man apparently drinks from a cup (?) in his right hand, and holds (or leans on) a staff in his left; there is possibly some reference to vintage (tasting the new-made wine?) but that is not very probable, since, to judge by later cycles, it occurs too late in the year;* the staff suggests a shepherd, and the reference thus may be to animal husbandry. The zodiacal sign, Scorpio, clambers about on the right-hand column of the frame. December is illustrated by a bearded man sitting with legs crossed warming himself at a fire, a theme which will be frequent for February in the Middle Ages.

The form of these illustrations makes it clear that they copy, with occasional reworking, some antique cycle. Their basis was an antique cycle with figures personifying the months—personifications to which not many attributes were appended. The mediaeval artist added to these figures the signs of the zodiac and the other details noted in order to bring the illustrations closer, where possible, to the notion of an active occupation, and in a few cases he even managed to change the pose of the figure. The reminiscences of scenes from the Chronograph of 354 are neither numerous nor close enough to establish any direct connection with it, and we must therefore suppose that it follows some other similar cycle which was current in the late antique period; this manuscript therefore indicates what is suggested at many other points in the history of early mediaeval illustration of the

* The lateness of the season and the amount of clothing preclude a reference to heat, as in the Byzantine cycles, which the action of the figure might suggest.

months: that the cycle preserved in the copies of the Chronograph was not the only cycle produced by classic art which circulated in the west in the early mediaeval period. The manuscript shows, too, the difficulty experienced by the artists in freeing themselves from the antique passive form in order to create the active occupation which the period desired; here, in a case where the problem was clearly posed, the artist succeeded in only two out of eleven months. That often the problem was avoided is shown by the cases in which the old cycles were frankly copied, for instance in the ninth-century copies of the Chronograph of 354, to which is due the preservation of its own illustrations.

A particularly interesting example of this is found in a manuscript (Voss. 79) of Aratos at Leyden (26), of the ninth century, one of the most successful copies of antique style produced by the Carolingian Renaissance. In addition to numerous illustrations of the constellations, there is a planetarium which arranges representations of the planets in a plan of the heavens, indicating their courses by circles. Around it is a band with the signs of the zodiac, which run from right to left as they appear in the sky, not from left to right as a scribe would be apt to write them down. Between them are medallions with small figures, which can be explained only by the representations of the months of the Chronograph of 354; but, beginning with January, illustrated by a man making an offering, at the right of the sign Aquarius, the months run in the opposite direction, from left to right, so that the correspondence between the month and its sign is lost. The figures, even to details, are taken directly from the illustrations of the Chronograph. It is interesting to note that the figures of this planetarium are not of the same excellence as the large figures illustrating the constellations in the body of the manuscript: the forms are drawn in a different manner and are cruder; the faces are more angular, and the drapery is usually misunderstood, probably, as Thiele suggests, because the artist was not copying a model miniature when he painted the planetarium, but was assembling figures of various models and had to reduce them in size. Thus some of his native rudeness appeared, although when he was copying figures line for line

with no change in scale he produced the magnificent examples of Carolingian art seen in the separate miniatures of the constellations. That the planetarium was thus assembled seems the more likely in view of the fact that the signs of the zodiac and the months do not coincide; at least such a mistake could hardly have been made in the antique model, which was certainly a carefully executed manuscript.* Therefore the conclusion seems justified that this miniature was made up in the ninth century, probably in this very manuscript; the cycle of the Chronograph was available to the artist, and he copied its scenes into the small medallions of his star-table. It offers an interesting example of the attempt of a Carolingian artist to make up his illustrations from more than one source, and it indicates again the importance of the illustrations of the Chronograph of 354; for the Middle Ages they were the antique illustrations of the months.†

It is surprising that in a period when so many manuscripts were illuminated so few examples of the illustration of the months remain. There was, it is true, a feeling that to use the human form to represent the Sun, Moon, and the stars, etc., was somewhat heathenish and unbiblical.‡ Still it is hard to see why such reticence should extend to illustration of the months, at least in the newly developing mediaeval form; for certainly the actual personification, which the antique preferred, was a greater offender in this respect than the mediaeval active type, and the seasons, at least, were specifically

* Cf. the third-century table, preserved in the manuscript of the Vatican (20), where the signs run from right to left and where the months accompany them in the same order.

† This miniature was recopied in the eleventh century in a manuscript, No. 188, Boulogne-sur-Mer (27); a fragment of a manuscript at Berne, No. 88, is in turn copied from the manuscript at Boulogne with the addition of *scholia* apparently from another illustrated manuscript, but so far as I know it has no planetarium with the figures of the months; cf. Thiele, pp. 83-84 (see under No. 26). We can be certain that these figures come from the Chronograph, because all twelve show such consistent relationship. In isolated figures, the case is much more doubtful, e.g. Franz Friedrich Leitschuh's suggestion, in *Geschichte der Karolingischen Malerei* (Berlin 1894), 307, ill. p. 129, that a man dancing before David and holding castanets like those held by the priest of Venus in the Chronograph (April), is taken from that source. Here the case is not convincing; these castanets are frequent enough in the Middle Ages (cf. the like scene in the *Psalterium Aureum* of St. Gall, illustrated in Amédée Boinet, *La miniature carolingienne* (Paris 1910), pl. 144), and as the pose is not identical, there seems no reason for assuming such a relationship.

‡ For expressions of this point of view see Leitschuh, *op. cit.*, 32, 275, 304.

excepted from this interdiction.* Be that as it may, the little figures in medallions and vignettes which so often enliven the frames of text and canon tables in Carolingian manuscripts bear no relation to illustrations of the months; they are decorative or anecdotal. It is possible that occupational scenes, disseminated by illustrations of the months, determined some of the incidents in the extensive illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter; thus, a very general expression in the text, "the labor of thine hands," is so easily broken up into certain specific "labors"—reaping, gathering grapes, treading grapes†—of frequent occurrence in illustrations of the months, that the illustrator of the Psalter may have had such scenes in mind, but these figures have no essential connection with our theme. Again, in the case of the active figures which occur on the gables of canon tables of the school of Reims‡ there is no evidence that they were intended to illustrate the months. We may be sure of a definite connection when the signs of the zodiac occur, as, for instance, in the Sacramentary of Autun§ and in the Vivien Bible,|| where they are included in the ornament of an initial, but here no illustrations accompany the signs. Such scenes as occur on one of the page-frames of the latter manuscript¶—a woman feeding animals, and a shepherd with a flock of goats—are manifestations of a playful spirit, decorative and idyllic in its intentions; indeed, the similarity of the herd of goats to one which occurs in the frieze of a Gallic sarcophagus** suggests that they are drawn from a tradition of decorative scenes and have no particular meaning. The Gospel-book of Soissons†† is full of these little figures in medallions; on folio 7^v a small vignette in the main arch of the canon-table

* Cf. the citation of the *Libri Carolini* III, 23, by Adolph Goldschmidt, *Die deutschen Bronzestüben* (Marburg 1926), I, 31, note 1.

† Ernest T. Dewald, *The Illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter* (Princeton, 1932), pl. 112.

‡ For instance, in the Gospels of Ebbo, in which hunting, scenes of building, etc., occur. See Boinet, *op. cit.*, pls. 66-7.

§ Autun, Bibliothèque de la Ville, 19 bis; see Wilhelm Köhler, *Die Karolingischen Miniaturen* I, *Die Schule von Tours* (Berlin 1930), pl. 67c.

|| Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1; see Köhler, *op. cit.*, pl. 79.

¶ Köhler, *op. cit.*, pl. 81.

** Edmond Le Blant, *Les sarcophages chrétiens de la Gaule* (Paris 1886), pl. 48.

†† Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 8850.

shows a seated man fishing from the bank of a body of water,* and folio 11^v shows a small figure with a spear and an object (falcon?) which might refer to hunting. On folio 181 four medallions occur in the arch of a page-frame,† one showing a seated man holding a stick or a line (fishing ?), one apparently representing a person swimming, and two depicting a man as if cutting corn in the posture of the harvester of Wandalbert's Martyrology (25); the four might refer to summer in general, but, again, there is no sound reason for thinking that definite illustration of the months was intended.

The remains of Carolingian illumination thus show that illustrations of the months couched in the active occupational character had been developed as early as the beginning of the ninth century in the manuscripts of the Salzburg School. The difficulty which other artists had in freeing themselves from the influence of the antique form was made evident in the illustrations of the Martyrology of Wandalbert and by the extent to which the Chronograph of 354 was frankly copied. The extant examples of the tenth and eleventh centuries are very few, but present the same picture of transition; in some, the active mediaeval conception holds sway; in others, it is the antique passive tradition which persists.

A German example of the school of Fulda is found in a Sacramentary at Berlin (28). The title-page is illustrated by the occupations of the months arranged on either side of the page in small arched openings in the frame, with the names of the months outside. The figures are clothed except, curiously enough, December. *Annus*, the Year, is shown in the center of the page, together with the four seasons: Spring and Summer, at the top, hold a medallion in which is a bust representing the Day; Autumn and Winter, at the bottom, hold a medallion enclosing Night. Although some of the scenes are active—for example in February and March the figures are actually training and pruning vines, and in December a man, disrobed, wrestles hotly with a hog in an attempt to stick it—others maintain a passive attitude and hold some object which refers to the month's occupation.

* Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. 191.

† *Ibid.*, pl. 23; unfortunately the reproductions are far from clear.

Thus, in July, a man merely stands with a scythe over his shoulder; in August he holds a sheaf (?) and fruit (or some of the heads of the grain) to indicate the harvest; in September he holds a cup under a grapevine. In all this the influence of the antique passive illustration is clear. Another German example of this period is entirely in the passive antique tradition; it is found in a circular table in a Sacramentary at Göttingen (29). Half-length figures are arranged around a circle, with the Sun in a chariot in the center as in the Alexandrian miniature discussed above (20); the figures hold various objects in their hands in an attempt to make them refer to some occupation.*

The months are illustrated in a manuscript of the Vatican Library (31), apparently executed at St. Mesmin (Loire) in France early in the eleventh century. Here the scenes are in the active manner. January is illustrated by a two-headed figure, inspired by the god Janus (antique), who is warming himself at a fire (mediaeval).† February shows a man pruning a very thin vine. March is illustrated by a curious figure of a man galloping madly upon a horse, scourging it the while, and blowing on a huge horn; this scene apparently departs from the occupational conception,‡ as does the next, which illustrates April with a figure holding a piece of flowering vegetation; here we have what the artist may well have looked upon as a personification of April, as flowers apparently grow from the figure's head.§ The scene illustrating May is in the mediaeval active character; a man is pictured pasturing a horse which crops the new grass at the end of a tether. In June, a farmer is raking newly cut hay. In July, he is cutting a bundle of wheat in the same posture as the figure in Wandalbert's Martyrology (25). In August, a man is vigorously setting the hoops to a cask to receive the next month's wine, to make which

* The influence of Byzantine iconography is to be seen in the representations of the seasons on the bronze doors of the Cathedral, Augsburg, executed about 1050-65; here Spring is illustrated by a warrior with shield and spear—the Byzantine March—and Summer by a figure holding up a flask, perhaps the same theme, the cooling drink, which illustrates August in the Byzantine cycles; see Goldschmidt, *Bronzetüren*, 30 ff.; pls. 92, 93, 96, 98.

† Capricorn accompanies the figure and the other signs accompany the following months in order.

‡ Cf. below, p. 51.

§ Cf. the *laetos crines* of Wandalbert's verses for April, cited above, p. 41.

his fellow in September is plucking the ripe bunches of grapes from a vine into a large basket. In October, he is drawing off some of the new wine from a keg into a jug. The illustration for November presents a curious scene of barter; a man with a spear, the swineherd, beside whom stand two hogs, is selling them to another man who proffers a handful of coins, one of which he holds up to view in a bargaining gesture. In December, a man is actively engaged in cutting up a hog which hangs partially dismembered on a stake. The calendar, therefore, gives fairly consistent expression to the mediaeval active point of view.

As to the source of the cycle, there are certain points which connect it with Italian iconography as established in the twelfth century; it is clear, for instance, that the scene of the cooper for August is peculiarly Italian.* The scene for March seems to refer to the winds, to be in fact a personification of the winds characteristic of that month; there are no weapons in evidence to indicate a warrior, and for the same reason a scene of hunting does not seem likely.† Then, too, the headlong movement of the figure, unless there is here again an unintentional miscarriage of the artistic effect like that noted in one of the scenes of Wandalbert's Martyrology, suggests rather the wind. The personification of the wind, although the theme does not occur exactly in this form (being usually expressed by a standing figure, sometimes with wind-tossed hair, who blows a horn from each corner of his mouth) is limited to Italian iconography.

It is therefore possible that this cycle was copied from some Italian manuscript, probably of much better quality, for in addition to the crudeness of the representations, positive misunderstandings of the model are apparent; for example, in the illustration for May, the herdsman should lean with his elbow upon something (a hillock?)

* See the Comparative Tables, pp. 175 ff.

† The closest formal parallel is found, much later (fourteenth century), on a misericord in Gloucester Cathedral (Francis Bond, P. M. Johnson, and Alfred Maskell, *Wood Carvings in English Churches* (London, New York, Toronto, and Melbourne, 1910) I, ill. p. 121); the inclusion of a dog perhaps refers to hunting; the representation is too late, however, and is not close enough to assist in the interpretation of the scene here. The figure for March in a manuscript of the British Museum (96) blows a horn and has flame-like hair, but is unmounted and carries a spear.

which has been illogically omitted in the copy.* Also suggesting an Italian cycle is the disposition of labors in the early part of the year; pruning the vines often occurs in February in Italian cycles, as is not surprising in view of the more southern climate, although it does not occur until March in the French cycles; the scene of warming would be expected in February in a native French cycle rather than, as here, in January.† The other scenes of the year could come from Italian sources and are not necessarily French.‡ The cycle of this manuscript may therefore be characterized as a French copy of an Italian one. The style of the original has completely disappeared in the style of the copyist, which represents the last stage in the degeneration of Latin art in the central and southern part of France when it became little more than scribbling; other examples may be found in the illuminated manuscripts of the comedies of Terence§ and of the works of Prudentius|| from the same region.

An example actually executed in Italy is offered by a Psalter of the eleventh century, apparently of Pisan origin, in the Laurentian Library at Florence (32). Here, although the cooper does not illustrate August, other scenes which will be characteristic of the developed Italian cycle already appear; such are the thorn-extractor for March, and a scene of fishing for February.¶ The illustrations are mediaeval

* Koseleff, *op. cit.*, 36, cites the representation of a man apparently pasturing an ox and an ass in the right-hand corner of the apse of S. Aquilino at Milan (cf. Joseph Wilpert, *Die römische Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten*, etc. [Freiburg-im-Breisgau 1916] III, pl. 41) as providing the correct explanation of this scene. That the scene here represents a herdsman pasturing a horse is clear in any case, but the comparison is interesting as suggesting again how these early mediaeval illustrations of the months must have been made up on a basis of figures and scenes of late antique art.

† As Koseleff correctly notes, *op. cit.*, 62, there is a slight preference in Italy for the representation of the dressing of the dead hog's carcass rather than of the more usual killing of the hog. This variation of the theme in this manuscript may support the other indications of Italian relationship.

‡ See Comparative Tables, pp. 175 ff.

§ Leslie Webber Jones and C. R. Morey, *The Illuminated Manuscripts of Terence Prior to the Thirteenth Century* (Princeton 1931), I, MSS. F, J, N (if one makes abstraction of the movement which is already invading the broken-down style in this last manuscript); cf. also two of the miniatures of MS. Zp (figs. 232, 336).

|| See Woodruff, in *Art Studies*, 1929, 33 ff.

¶ This scene appears later, as in Nos. 52, 54; however, it may be inspired by the zodiacal sign, not by a real occupation; cf. remarks under No. 88.

except in the cases of April and May; in the latter the reference to mowing by the attribute of the rake recalls the antique practice.

An eleventh-century manuscript of the school of Winchester now in the British Museum, Cottonianus Julius A.VI. (33), contains a calendar illustrated by an occupation for each month. The illustrations are elaborate, introducing as many as seven figures in the representation of harvesting, and reveal a narrative fantasy and playful drawing common in English miniatures of the first half of the century. Thus, in the scene of sheep-tending, rams, ewes, and suckling lambs are represented; a shepherd sits at the left upon a small knoll, staff in hand, while two others sit as if gossiping at the other side. In the scene of falcon-hunting, a stream trickles from the hills in the background and broadens into a small lake, while birds feed upon its banks and float upon its surface. The representations are completely mediaeval in the sense that the active occupation is elaborately shown. For the complete iconography see the Catalogue.

The illustrations of another manuscript of the late eleventh century in the British Museum, Cottonianus Tiberius B.V. (34), are closely related to those just discussed. The iconography is in general the same, although the execution is in a slightly more descriptive manner and the style manifests the greater quietness which appeared in the second half of the century some time after the Norman conquest. The harvest scene of reaping, occurring here for June, is evidently misplaced, as August was the harvest month in England,* and it is depicted thus in the Hymnal just mentioned; as a result, the scenes of woodcutting and mowing are displaced one month each, occurring here for July and August instead of for June and July respectively.† The scenes are obviously the same as those in Julius

* Fowler has noted the custom in his discussion of the manuscript; the evidence of the twelfth-century English cycles is also clear on this point (see the Comparative Tables).

† In earlier discussions, the order has sometimes been altered (e.g. by Riegl) in the attempt to make the illustrations conform more completely to other cycles, for example by moving the plowing and sowing from January to April and the feasting from April to January. Fowler notes, however, that although in warm climates plowing and sowing are best done in autumn, the beginning of the year is better where there is danger of frost. Whatever the facts, such evidence can hardly be conclusive in the case of a cycle not yet fully adapted to a given country. However, the evidence of the Julius manuscript shows that there is no

A.VI.; the only noteworthy difference is in the addition of a figure in five of the scenes,* which may indicate that the two cycles are copied from some common model or archetype. Other differences are not so important, for example the extra dog in September, for the mannerism of profiling animals back of one another is common to both manuscripts; that the dogs are placed to the side of the huntsman denotes the generally more descriptive manner of this manuscript, the scenes of the Julius manuscript being closer to an art which more easily introduced the three-dimensional element. In the scene of cultivation of the soil (March), the man raking is merely omitted and the man spading is placed to the left of the hill; in the scene of threshing (December), the two basket-carriers are transposed from the right to the left of the picture. The evidence pointing to a relationship through a common model or archetype, rather than through direct copying, is thus limited to the addition of one figure in four of the miniatures. Were such variations found in sacred scenes, in which the tendency for exact copying was perhaps stronger, one might posit the presence of an archetype. But in illustrations of this character, which were more closely related to the life of the times, they are not so significant.† Certain of these changes may easily have sprung from the tendency to varied and sprightly description evident throughout these illustrations, as for instance the addition of the horn-blower in the banquet illustrating April. There seems no compelling reason,

special disarrangement here, with the exception of the displacement of the harvest in Tib. B.V. from August to June, with the consequences noted above.

* In the banquet, the man blowing a horn at the right is added, as well as the "window" in the left corner of the bench and the openings along the base; the support for the jug at the left is omitted, an attendant holds a spear instead of a cup, etc. In the sheep-tending, an additional shepherd holds a lamb, and the two shepherds at the right are replaced by three men in more noble costume, as if the owners. In the woodcutting the extra figure appears at the right holding an axe; the hind-quarters of the oxen are omitted, etc. (In both miniatures the man loading the cart has laid a large pruning knife down on the pole; it is less recognizable in the earlier.) In the harvest a second reaper is added who bends to cut the grain behind the first; this displaces the man with upraised sickle to a position partly hidden by his companion, who is binding a sheaf.

† Indeed the apparent lack of meaning of some of the changes is perhaps the strongest argument for the presence of an archetype. Thus, if the Tiberius manuscript copies the Julius, why transpose the digger to the left of the hill? However, this too could conceivably be due to the manner in which the individual copyist attacked the scene.

therefore, for thinking that the miniatures in Tiberius B.V. were not copied from those in Julius A.VI.

The cycle found in these two manuscripts, in the amplitude of the scenes and in their spirited conception, is unique among early mediæval representations of the months. There are certain features which connect it with the Utrecht Psalter, a ninth-century manuscript of the school of Reims, which, with its wealth of spirited pen-drawings, offers one of the richest sources for figures and motifs of ninth-century art. The spirited style of the drawings in the Julius manuscript is highly reminiscent of that of the Psalter. The smooth, conical hills (March) are to be found in the Psalter;* the motif of the reaper (August) can be paralleled in posture and action,† as well as that of the figure binding a sheaf between his legs;‡ the representation of birds, animals, and landscape makes clear a general relationship with the art of the Utrecht Psalter. The cycle can hardly have been made up in England itself in the eleventh century from figures and scenes drawn from the Psalter as an artistic sourcebook, however, for, despite the wealth of figures in the Psalter, only a relatively small number of those of the English cycle can be found there. Moreover, this possibility is ruled out by the departure of the cycle from the characteristic cycle of England, which depends in large part, naturally, as in other lands, on the climate and agricultural customs of the country. The English usage in this respect is preserved in the twelfth-century cycles§ and shows that such combinations as plowing and sowing in January, feasting in April, feeding hogs in September, threshing in December, which occur in the cycle preserved in these two manuscripts, are not English. Therefore this cycle was not made up on English soil, nor made up in England on the basis of the Utrecht Psalter, even though that manuscript was in England at the time. The labors of these manuscripts are therefore derived from an archetype the cycle of which was made up before it came to England.

* Dewald, *op. cit.*, pl. 113; one may also compare, in this plate, the action of the figure with a mattock with that in Julius A.VI.

† *Ibid.*, pl. 112.

‡ *Ibid.*, pl. 113.

§ See the Comparative Tables.

The undeniable resemblances to the Utrecht Psalter suggest that the original was conceived at Reims, that is, at the same time and in the same milieu in which the illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter were designed, perhaps following poems for the iconography and drawing the pictorial material from the fund of types and figures of which the Utrecht Psalter is the most complete extant expression.*

The above examples have been marked by the attempt, successful in varying degrees, to escape from the antique passive illustration and to develop representations of active labors. In some cases, as in the two English manuscripts just discussed, the active illustration was attained throughout the series of twelve scenes. In other cases, success was only partial—some of the scenes partaking of the new active character, others holding to the older type—and occasionally antique illustrations were frankly copied with no attempt to change them.† It was not until the twelfth century itself that the active conception gained general control, although even then the artist sometimes gave up the attempt and copied or re-used an antique model.

* The Psalter of Athelstan (British Museum, Cott. Galba A. XVIII) is cited by Riegl, *op. cit.*, 63, as an example of English illustrations of the months. He was speaking on the basis of a single miniature, however, reproduced as the frontispiece of Robert Thomas Hampson's *Medii aevi kalendarium* (London 1841), which shows a single nimbed figure standing under a frame, which he took to be a personification of the month. These illustrations accompanying the calendar of saints' days, which is like that of Tiberius B.V., are all alike in the presentation of a nimbed figure in a frame, and are to be taken as saints rather than personifications of the months. Le Sénécal, *op. cit.*, 44-45, apparently following Riegl, repeats the error. The body of the manuscript is continental of the ninth century; the metrical calendar was added in England in the tenth century, probably about 925-40. See Eric George Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts from the 10th to 13th Centuries* (Paris and Brussels 1926), 2-3.

† Cf. No. 30.

CHAPTER III

THE TWELFTH CENTURY

TO THE relatively infrequent occurrence of illustrations of the months in the early Middle Ages, the twelfth century succeeds with a wealth of examples, especially in France and Italy—an increase in which the custom of using the theme in sculpture on the portals of the many churches built during this period played a large part. The number of examples makes it undesirable to attempt a description of all; they will be analyzed as to the labor portrayed in each month for convenient reference in the Catalogue, together with bibliographical notes, where such seem called for.* The text will be limited to questions about individual cycles which require more extended discussion, and to the presentation of the characteristics of the theme in various countries particularly with a view to bringing out the distinctive features of the iconography in one country and another; the latter results will be found summarized in the Comparative Tables,† and, where possible, presented in detail in the plates.‡

IN ITALY

The characteristic iconography of the Italian cycles may be introduced by surveying briefly the scenes of one of the finest examples produced by mediaeval artists, that on the porch of the church of San Zeno at Verona (53). The scenes are exceptionally clear, and the

* Pp. 117 ff.

† Pp. 175 ff.

‡ Some apology is perhaps needed for presenting plates of the varied nature of those found here, some of them drawings of various kinds, others photographs. The concern of this study is with iconography and thus a drawing serves as well as a photograph, sometimes better because it brings out details with clarity. As a result the medium for the plates has been chosen without regard for consistency, sometimes merely on the basis of greater availability.

names are inscribed under each one so that there is no doubt as to the month intended in each case; the cycle will thus give a clear view of some of the peculiarities of the theme in Italy. The labors occur in a frieze along the architrave, and each is given an architectural frame of arch and columns, a form which had been developed in the antique world. January is illustrated by the theme of warming: a man wrapped in a robe and hatted sits before a fire at which he warms his hands. February sees the peasant beginning the work of the year in pruning his vines. March is illustrated by a curious scene peculiar to Italy;* a figure with flame hair blows upon two large horns held at the corners of his mouth. Whereas the first two scenes suggest contemporary human figures engaged in characteristic actions, this figure seems to personify some force of nature, possibly the wind; the pose bears this out, for the figure stands frontally and symmetrically, a symbol presented to the view of the spectator rather than a representation of an action. Its conception thus betrays the influence of the antique, although this particular theme is not found in the extant examples from antique art. The month of April, with the theme of the flower-bearer, remains loyal to the antique tradition;† the figure does not so much pluck the blossoms (the position of the right hand might suggest that here) as show them for a sign of spring, and this will be the constant usage in the mediaeval cycles.

The scene for May returns to the active mediaeval conception with its portrayal of the rider, here the warrior, armed with shield and spear, faring forth upon his steed.‡ June returns to the work of the peasant, depicting a figure climbing among the branches of a tree gathering fruit in a basket. July shows the farmer, hatted against the heat of summer, bending to cut the ripe grain with his sickle. In August, still hatted, he prepares for the approaching vintage by constructing the casks which are to receive the wine,—the theme of the cooper.

* With one possible exception (No. 96).

† Cf. Nos. 7 and 9.

‡ Superficially the illustration might be termed passive, as no opponent is represented, and the scene cannot be given the more active term, "Fighting." It is in the conception of the scene, betrayed by the represented movement of the horse and by the active, almost purposeful posture of the rider, that the mediaeval spirit is revealed.

In September he is found, bare-headed, in the midst of vintage, in a scene of great animation: he plucks a bunch of grapes from a vine with his left hand, thus showing the act of picking the grapes, while upon his other shoulder he bears a basket full of ripe fruit to indicate the gathering of the grapes and their transport to the wine-press, and at the same time he steps with his foot into the vat to indicate the treading of the grapes. The scene in this fullness of active work is far removed from the antique passive conception, although the influence of the old form is seen in the large scale of the figure in relation to the framing arch.* The scene for October furnishes a more developed expression of the mediaeval point of view in the form of the illustration, seen especially in the reduction in scale of the human figure, who beats acorns from a tree for the two hogs below; the scene is a particularly fine example of the mediaeval labor, unusual in the ease with which the more extended scene is accomplished. In November, the hogs, having been fattened, are being killed; the figure sticks the throat of one at the right while at the left another, already killed, hangs waiting to be dressed. In December, the peasant gathers wood against the cold of that season. The figure carries a bundle of sticks over his shoulder and in his left hand is the axe with which they were cut. The cycle, then, is as fully mediaeval in the conception of its themes as the twelfth century will produce; although the antique form and its influence are still perceptible, the scenes, except in March and April, present active occupations, the "labors of the months."

An interesting group of cycles in Lombardy at the turn of the century, produced by Benedetto Antelami and his school, stems from the reliefs on the cathedral at Parma (48), which were probably completed before 1196. Complete certainty has not been reached as to just how far the work of Benedetto himself extends in this group, and it is therefore included here, although, stretching from the reliefs on the cathedral at Parma to the labors at Ferrara, it doubtless passes soon into the early years of the thirteenth century. The cycle in the fragments at Brescia is more markedly divergent.

The reliefs in the baptistery at Parma (47) have often been attrib-

* Cf. the illustrations of the Chronograph of 354 (7).

uted to Benedetto, those on the porch of the cathedral at Cremona (39) less often. Such problems, being primarily questions of style, lie beyond the scope of the present study, but it may be noted that the cycles in the baptistery and at Cremona are extremely close in iconography, and are divergent from the labors of the cathedral at Parma. If Benedetto executed the reliefs both of the cathedral and in the baptistery at Parma, he displays a rather marked change in his iconography of the months. There are features common to both cycles, however; especially in the representations of January and December, where both the theme and its form are the same; to a lesser degree in the labors of August and September, where the theme is the same but the form slightly different; and still less in April and May, where although the theme is the same the form is different. In the other months the labors are quite different.

The relationship between the labors in the baptistery at Parma (47) and on the cathedral at Cremona (39) is, on the other hand, extremely close. The themes differ only in the months of November, in which the scene at Cremona is closer to that of the cathedral at Parma, and January, in which the labor of the baptistery is closer to the same cycle. The similarities, especially in the months May, July, August, and December, and in the zodiacal sign, Sagittarius, are striking. The impression given by the iconography, then, is that the labors of the cathedral at Parma are from one source, those of the other two cycles i. e., the baptistery at Parma and the cathedral at Cremona, from another.*

The cycle of the cathedral at Ferrara (40) is clearly related to the above. The illustration of January recalls that of the cathedral at Cremona, except that the figure is Janus, as on the cathedral at Parma. The two figures which occur on one slab have been interpreted as March and April; the frieze at Cremona, however, indicates that this slab was probably for March alone, because that month is illus-

* This does not mean that the latter two cycles are necessarily by the same artist, of course; the one may have been carved by a worker who took over the iconography of the other bodily. The representations at Cremona are marked by a crude vigor which contrasts with the more full and easy style of the reliefs in the baptistery at Parma, a contrast which may be clearly seen in the very similar figures of May.

trated there by two figures apparently, the familiar hornblower, and a female figure holding a twig or flower;* the same figure appears at the baptistery at Parma, where her hair is bound with a kind of knotted fillet, which appears upon the figure at Ferrara too. This second figure in March, if it is not a personification of spring, or Venus or Flora, may be a reference to new vegetation usually made in April alone. The scene of threshing for July reveals the same theme as at Cremona and in the baptistery at Parma, although carried out in fuller and more masterly form; the labor of the cooper for August recalls the same two cycles, but is closer to a cycle at Arezzo which proves the figure a cooper, not a vintner;† the same cycles are recalled in September, except that the zodiacal sign is omitted. Especially striking is the similarity to the figure in the baptistery at Parma in the detail of the close-fitting cap, possibly a protection against bees or other insects.

The possible use of two figures for March, which is the most striking feature of this group, appears again in the excerpts from a cycle at Fidenza (Borgo San Donnino; 41); here the familiar hornblower appears with a female figure at his right, the group being very similar to that at Ferrara, although the figures are not handled with so much ease. The fragments at Brescia (37) seem to derive from a different source in general; the theme of June, for example, is the same but given in quite a different form. In two of the months similarities are striking, however, because of the rarity of the themes: in November the labor of pulling turnips is found, as in the baptistery at Parma, although the form is slightly different; and in October there is not only the reference to sowing, found also in the baptistery and at the cathedral of Cremona, although in a slightly different form, but also the rare scene of the infant suckled by a goat, paralleled only in one of the additional slabs at Ferrara.

The Italian cycles are marked by a variety of iconography which makes it impossible to isolate a single characteristic scene for each

* The extra figure at Cremona must be for March if for any month; it cannot be April, as that month is clearly found in the figure to the left of the hornblower.

† Pieve di Sta. Maria; Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, III, fig. 856.

month of the year. Such is possible only in the cases of April, in which there is almost universal agreement on the flower-bearer, of May, in which is found a like preference for the knight or rider either mounted or unmounted, and of September, which is marked by some form of vintage, either gathering or treading grapes.

There are, however, certain individual scenes or labors which seem to be peculiarly Italian.* Such is the hornblower for March,* portrayed as a man standing and blowing a horn—sometimes two, one from each corner of his mouth, as at Pavia (49). For the same month appears the equally Italian theme of the thorn-extractor, with one foot held upon the other knee, as seen, for example, on the Cathedral at Parma (48), a scene which is also distinctively Italian. Another Italian scene is that of the cooper for August,* who prepares the casks to receive the new-made wine of September; he is usually portrayed as a man setting the hoops on a cask, as for instance, at Verona (53). The occurrence of reaping in June and threshing in July, doubtless due to Italy's warmer climate, as seen at Otranto (46) and Pisa (52), will be found also in Spain, and is a characteristic of the southern countries, for these occupations do not occur thus in the northern cycles. (This does not mean that the arrangement obtains invariably in Italy; mowing in June and reaping in July are also to be found.)

The illustrations are for the most part fully mediaeval in general occupational character; the cycle of San Zeno at Verona, discussed in greater detail above, is fully characteristic in this respect. The figure of the flower-bearer, originally copied from the antique,† became the regular illustration for April in the Middle Ages; it is possible that the mediaeval man saw in it an indirect reference to an active occupation, gathering flowers, but if so this idea did not find expression in the form of the theme in the twelfth-century cycles, and the figure is to be interpreted rather as holding fast to the antique in idea, as well as in the form, and commemorating the return of Spring by this symbolic reference to the newly blooming vegetation. The god Janus, referred to by the double-faced figure often depicted

* See Comparative Table I; noted by Robb, *Art Bulletin* XII (1930), 410.

† E.g. No. 9.

for January,* is of course, an antique conception, although it does not appear in the extant antique cycles,† which, in accord with the early verses,‡ refer rather to an offering to the gods. It is true that Ausonius, in one of his eclogues, apostrophizes Janus in the lines reserved for January;§ and that he was represented in this connection by at least the sixth century is to be taken from the remark of Isidore of Seville, *Unde et bifrons idem Ianus pingitur ut introitus anni et exitus demonstraretur.*|| No examples from the antique period have appeared, however, and there is at present no proof that the appearance of Janus for January in the mediaeval cycles indicates any direct influence of antique illustrations; the idea may well have appeared first in such poems as those mentioned above, to be later incorporated in the plastic representations, and would thus represent a detail carried along in the general heritage from the antique, rather than in the specific form (illustration of the months) with which we are here concerned. A case which seems to hark back directly to antique illustration of the months, and to the theme of the offering in January, is found in the reliefs of the main portal of the Baptistery at Pisa (52), in which January is illustrated by a man making an offering as in the Chronograph of 354 (7).

Before concluding this section I may call attention to the often difficult problem of identifying the individual months, a problem which is exemplified very well in the cycle on the cathedral at Sessa Aurunca, of the opening years of the thirteenth century.¶ The figures, and the interpretations most to be preferred, are as follows. The figure seated at a fire warming himself must be January or February;** and the next figure to the left, apparently represented as fishing, shows that the former must be January, as fishing occurs only for February in the other cycles.** As a result the cycle is to be read, provisionally,

* E.g. at the cathedral of Parma (48).

† Nor does the thorn-extractor.

‡ See Appendix B, etc.

§ See Appendix F.

|| *Etymologiae*, v, 33; see Appendix O.

¶ Illustrated by Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana* III, figs. 531, 538.

** Cf. Comparative Table I.

as running from right to left, beginning with the figure warming himself, January; the arched doorway(?) at the right of the figure may possibly symbolize the beginning of the year, but is more probably a part of the architecture representing a building in which the figure sits, indoors. The third figure seems clearly to be an awkward representation in relief of the thorn-extractor of March, with the unusual addition of a small figure apparently represented as pulling the thorn from his foot. Next is a female figure holding a round object (wreath or basket?) above her head, probably the flower-bearer; if the pose is one of dancing there may be a reminiscence of the antique figure (7, 10), but this does not seem likely. If the series continues in the next figure it furnishes a unique labor for May; a figure holds a small human figure in its arms, which Venturi interprets as a scare-crow, a suggestion which is plausible only because a bird is represented in the tree (?) to the left; until confirmed by other and more certain appearances the validity of the identification of this as a month must remain doubtful.* The next figure carries a large basket of fruits on his shoulders and may illustrate June; the next figure, July, seems also to refer to harvest of some kind, as he carries a bunch of fruits (?) on a stick over his shoulder and something else (wheat??) on his head. The next figure wears a sun-hat and carries a club over his shoulder, and may thus be a reference to the heat and the threshing (?) of August. If the next figure continues the series, it may be a reference to gathering grapes in September; it carries a small basket on a stick over its shoulder, in a manner which recalls somewhat the Byzantine scene for the same month (cf. 22). The last figure is probably not a month; it holds a bunch of flowers and a cornucopia (?) and thus might be some general reference to the bounty of the earth or the year.

The interpretation given by Venturi does not correspond with that given above, differing chiefly in the allotment of figures to months.†

* The only similar scene known to me and connected at all with the labors occurs among the scenes of the life of Moses on a baptismal font in S. Frediano, Lucca (Toesca, fig. 540, Venturi, fig. 843); the nurse-mother with Moses (?) on shoulder, water-jug in hand, and bird above furnishes the elements of the present scene, although reversed. The upper part of the font, No. 42, contained the months. Perhaps the scene at Sessa Aurunca is confused with a scene from some other theme, such as the scene of Moses.

† *Ibid.*, 577-78; d'Ancona, *op. cit.*, 104-5, follows Venturi.

He sees the doorway as illustrating January, places fishing in March, allots both the flower-bearer and the thorn-extractor to April, and holds that the bird in the tree is, alone, the illustration for a month (July); the remaining figures are then allowed to stand for the last months of the year, ending with the figure holding the cornucopia for December. The reasons against this, and in favor of the interpretation given above, which may be added to the considerations adduced in that place, are as follows: warming usually comes in January in Italian cycles, fishing in no month other than February. The thorn-extractor always occurs in March. The bird in the tree can hardly be taken as a complete labor and, if a scare-crow is the meaning of the preceding figure, it would logically go with it, as the indication of the birds against which the scare-crow is used; the bird alone as the illustration of a month would be contrary to the conception of the theme in mediaeval art, where it is based on the representation of human activity, and it is even more contrary to the antique conception (Venturi cites the work as an example of antique influence in Romanesque sculpture), which always based the illustration on a human figure. The figure wearing a sun-hat would seem to be much better placed in August; the hat does not occur so late as September in other Italian cycles (cf. 50, 54).^{*} Finally, there is no parallel for a figure bearing flowers and a cornucopia as an illustration for December.

Venturi notes that it is not clear why fishing should occur in March, as he places it, instead of in February, but that if it were placed in the earlier month, one month would be lacking. The assumption that all the months are necessarily represented is the most frequent source of error in such cases. These figures are undoubtedly from a cycle of illustrations of the months, but they are set into the central part of the archivolt, interrupting the sacred scenes which decorate it. If the voussoirs were laid beginning at each end, some of the months might have been omitted for lack of space, to say nothing of other ways in which chance can have accomplished this. Where there are no names

^{*} As concerns antiquity, the sun-hat is the attribute of summer throughout the mosaics of Antioch.

or consistent series of signs of the zodiac to identify the separate months, it seems better to try to identify one or more distinctive scenes as a clue to the relationship between months and labors, and then to work from these to as many other identifications as possible. Such labors are found at Sessa Aurunca in the thorn-extractor, and also in the scenes interpreted here as February, April, and, possibly, September.

The detailed procession of scenes in other cycles is given in the catalogue, Nos. 35-54, and a general view of the Italian iconography of the months may be gained by consulting the Comparative Table I.*

IN FRANCE

In France, as in Italy, the labors of the months first occur frequently in works of the twelfth century. Moreover, there is one district—the region of Saintonge and Poitou—which developed an individual cycle of considerable uniformity within the larger orbit of French twelfth-century cycles in general. Here the months, accompanied by the signs of the zodiac, often appear on one of the archivolt surrounding the doorway without tympanum characteristic of the Romanesque architectural school of Saintonge-Poitou. A convenient starting-point for the study of this French cycle is found in the doorway of the church at Fenioux (67), as the names both of the months and of the zodiac signs are there inscribed. The illustrations are placed in the outer archivolt, beginning at the left with January, accompanied by its zodiacal sign, Aquarius, and ending at the right with December, accompanied by Capricorn; the signs are placed above the illustration within the curve of the archivolt in every case, so that Cancer and Leo, the signs of June and July, are placed side by side at

* Occasional examples of isolated scenes are found which probably are taken from illustrations of the months. Thus at S. Nicolò at Bari are two scenes (pruning and reaping), but the names are not given and thus, although they could easily illustrate February and June (or July), there is no certainty that they were intended as formal illustrations of the months. See Francesco Carabellese, *Bari* (Bergamo 1909), 103 (with ill.); Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, III, fig. 140; Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture* (New Haven 1917), pl. 143. In the Museo Civico at Reggio (Emilia) is a mosaic fragment showing a flower-bearer (Venturi, *op. cit.*, III, figs. 403, 405) which may well have been part of a cycle of the months.

the keystone. The name of the sign is cut on the inner, the name of the month on the outer, of two concentric mouldings.

At the left, January is illustrated by a bearded man, seated in profile toward the right, and evidently cutting a loaf, which he holds in his left hand, with the knife held in his right; an arch is indicated over his head, and above it is seated Aquarius with right leg drawn up—his water-jug is no longer distinguishable. For February, a man is seated frontally with a fire between his legs at which he warms his hands, held each above one of his knees; above the arch are the two fishes of the sign Pisces. The illustration for March is somewhat mutilated: a man standing and facing to the right remains; his left arm is raised and the figure is probably to be referred to pruning; the vine was probably represented in front of him along the lower edge of the two voussairs occupied by the figure. Above is the sign Aries. April is illustrated by a man, seated, facing to the right, and holding flowers in his hands—apparently a variant of the usually standing flower-bearer;* above is the sign Taurus. For May there is a figure riding a horse to the right, with what looks like a scarf or banner flying behind him, but which, to judge by other cycles,† is probably a sickle; above is the sign Gemini. The figure for June is somewhat mutilated, but still may be distinguished as a figure swinging a scythe in front of him, a reference to mowing; above his head is the sign Cancer, which is followed immediately, passing to the downward curve of the archivolt to the right of the center point, by the sign Leo, which thus appears above the head of the figure for July, who faces to the left and, slightly bent over, cuts the handful of wheat which he grasps with his left hand: reaping. The sign Virgo stands above the mutilated figure for August; a flail (?) over his shoulder is possibly to be distinguished, with which he is threshing the pile of wheat (?) which lies at his feet. The sign Libra follows, a female figure, seated frontally, holding the balance in her lap; below, a figure, facing to the left, steps with his right foot into

* The figure at Cognac (66) may be crowned, suggesting a courtly scene of some kind, as perhaps in the scene of "homage" (?) in Spain (86); unfortunately these scenes are defaced, and the flowers held by the figure here remain the only indication of theme.

† E.g. Nos. 63, and in Italy, 47; cf. also p. 70 below.

a vat in reference to the treading of grapes in September. The sign of Scorpio has been destroyed, as also most of the scene under it; on the evidence of the other cycles,* it is doubtless to be reconstructed as a man beating acorns from trees, the usual form of reference to feeding hogs for October. Below is the sign Sagittarius, and beneath it, under an arch, two oxen are feeding at a manger in illustration of November, perhaps to indicate that the season for outdoor work is past, and that, with the coming of colder weather, fodder must be provided for the cattle. Below, the sign Capricorn is again destroyed, and beneath the place reserved for it is the illustration for December, a figure seated frontally under an arch and behind a table, which refers to feasting, life indoors in the winter being pictured for this month, as for January and February. Arches appear over the two figures at each end of the archivolt. The series is completely mediaeval in spirit, the only parallel with the antique being found in the reference to the return of foliage and flowers made by the figure of the flower-bearer of April, and that figure is not in the same pose as in the antique examples of this theme (Nos. 7, 9).

Another example in this region is found on the church of St. Nicolas at Civray (65). Comparison with the cycle at Fenioux shows that the labor chosen for each month is the same in each case. It is only in the disposition of some of the figures that the two cycles differ; thus, the figures for March and April are apparently not in the same posture, the figure for June is related radially instead of longitudinally to the archivolt, and there are two figures included in the scene of vintage for September (one being apparently in the vat treading, the other bringing additional grapes); several of the signs of the zodiac—notably Cancer, Leo, and Sagittarius,—show slight variations in placing. These minor divergences notwithstanding, the general arrangement of the occupations and signs, which succeed each other in exactly the same fashion, the close correspondence in general iconography, extending even to the posture of the single figures in January,† Febru-

* See Comparative Table II.

† The posture of Aquarius is the same in both examples; cf. the photographs noted in the Catalogue.

ary, and December, the indication of similar arches above the figures, and, especially, the appearance of the unusual scene of the two oxen feeding at a manger for November—all show that we have here a cycle which was the common property of the sculptors at Fenioux and Civray. The inclusion of a sheaf of wheat behind the thresher in August is merely an additional descriptive touch and does not affect the identity of the illustration.

In the cycle on the church of St. Léger at Cognac (66), the correspondence with the scenes at Fenioux extends even to the postures of the single figures. The illustration for November has been interpreted as a new scene, a man holding a cup, therefore drinking, tasting wine, or the like. Such an explanation, however, overlooks the animal, which is an important part of the scene, although photographs taken from certain angles do not show it clearly.* Examination of the actual relief, or of good detailed photographs,† leaves no doubt that the scene is the one already found for November in these cycles: feeding animals. The figure carries a basket from which he is putting provender into the manger, which is clearly indicated. The animal resembles a hog more than an ox. The figures of April, May, and December are mutilated, but the close correspondence of the other figures with those at Fenioux allows the interpretation of the hints which remain in accordance with the scenes found there. Minor variations in the placing of the signs of the zodiac are negligible; the exact correspondence in the succession of signs and occupations, the use of arches over the end-figures (cf. January and November), and the posture of Aquarius with right leg raised, show that we have the same cycle here as in the other churches of this region discussed above.

Another example of the cycle of Saintonge-Poitou is found on a portal of St. Pierre at Aulnay (58). The scenes were evidently replaced at some time, with omissions and changes in order; inscriptions and iconography, however, allow the interpretation of those remaining. The general arrangement, with the zodiac above each month beginning with January and Aquarius at the left, and the general

* Cf. *Archives Photographiques*, No. 849.

† Cf. *Archives Photographiques*, No. 3696.

iconography, are the same as in the cycle at Fenioux (67) already discussed. Minor differences such as the use of an extra figure in the scene of mowing for June do not obscure the close general correspondence, which is further attested by the reappearance of the characteristic scene of the two feeding oxen for November, occurring in a part of the cycle in which there seems to have been no restoration. To be noted also is the occasional indication of an arch over the terminal scenes—as in the case of December here.

There is thus, in this western region of France, a unified cycle which appears again and again and forms a subcycle within the general French iconography of the twelfth century. It may be summarized as follows, it being noted that save for the feeding oxen of November it is the manner in which the scenes are represented (the posture of the figures, etc.) which creates the common character rather than the appearance of unusual themes in the several months.

- January —Feasting (seated facing toward right, usually with round loaf and knife).
 February —Warming (seated frontally).
 March —Pruning (with right leg slightly raised).
 April —Flower-bearer (seated, crowned (?), amid shrubs).
 May —Rider, riding toward right, with sickle in hand.*
 June —Mowing (with scythe in front).
 July —Reaping.
 August —Threshing (often with sheaf standing by).
 September—Treading grapes.
 October —Fattening hogs (i.e. knocking down acorns).
 November—Feeding animals (oxen).†
 December —Feasting (seated frontally).

The establishment of this basic cycle allows the reconstruction of some of the mutilated figures of the cycle of the church at Argenton-le-Château (56). The general arrangement is that made familiar in the examples already discussed; the use of figures instead of abstract or vegetable motifs on the inner archivolts corresponds with the usage

* Brandt has made the interesting suggestion that this curious detail of the sickle may come originally from a confusion in a literary source of the words *falx*, *falco*.

† The cycle at Melle (70) is badly destroyed and disarranged; it offered another example of the scene of the oxen feeding at a manger.

at Fenioux, Civray, and Aulnay, as contrasted with that at Cognac; a minor architectural variation is found in the use of slightly pointed arches for the archivolt over the doorway the sculpture of which, especially of the outer archivolt where the illustrations of the months occur, is badly weathered and defaced. The illustration for April seems to be the seated figure bearing flowers, as in the regular cycle. The figure for May was the rider, and for June that of the familiar mower swinging a scythe in front of him. The signs of the zodiac for these months are effaced (except for the body of Taurus), but the inscriptions of their names and those of the months show that they were arranged in the usual order. All indications point to the regular cycle of Saintonge-Poitou; the first three months are therefore to be reconstructed in accordance with it,* and the illustration for July was doubtless that of reaping.

In the illustration for August, the curious cylindrical object with reticulated surface which appears at the right of the scene has given considerable difficulty; a grind-stone, a beehive, a wicker basket have all been suggested—in the last case the basket to be taken in connection with the tree (?) or vines (?) at the left (from which the person who may have stood between them is to pick fruit) as a reference to gathering fruit, perhaps grapes.† The cycle of Saintonge-Poitou calls for threshing here, however, and heads of corn are clearly indicated at the left of the platform on which the figure stood, so that the regular scene of threshing was the chief occupation indicated here; a comparison with the representation at Aulnay (58) and Civray (65) makes this clear. As to the cylindrical object, it is possibly to be explained as a stylized sheaf of wheat, or perhaps better the pile of sheaves not yet spread upon the floor for threshing. Comparison with the scenes at Aulnay and Civray would support such an inference. The finer reticulation at Argenton-le-Château is not surprising, in view of the finer detail in which the sculpture of this doorway is carved.

The illustration for September was the usual treading grapes, and that of October probably fattening hogs. The scene for November has

* See summary, p. 70.

† See Sanoner, in *Revue de l'art chrétien*, 4^e série, XIV (1903), 398.

been interpreted as killing hogs, the occupation for this month in many French cycles.* Closer inspection, however, makes it evident that the scene is a variant of the characteristic Saintonge-Poitou occupation of feeding oxen; the rectangular reticulated object (upon which is superimposed the succeeding sign, Capricorn) represents the manger, which is seen more clearly at Fenioux (67). Probably there were two animals with the man standing between them. The finer scale of the reticulations which indicate the surface of the manger would not be contrary to the general character of the sculpture of this portal.† The interpretation as feeding oxen seems therefore the more correct, especially in view of the basic cycle, established above for this region, to which the cycle at Argenton-le-Château certainly belongs. The illustration for December is the usual reference to feasting.

The influence of the cycle of Saintonge-Poitou in the district to the south is shown by the appearance of this cycle on the façade of the church of Ste.-Croix at Bordeaux (61), where, however, the influence has made itself felt chiefly in the nineteenth century. The case is interesting as giving a modern example, inspired by nineteenth-century archaeology, of the copying of one work from another which was the rule in the early middle ages. The church of Ste.-Croix has had a long and varied history, including destructions by the Saracens and the Normans, and a rebuilding in the late twelfth century, before it came into modern hands. The rebuilding in the twelfth century either did not complete the illustrations of the months on the facade or they were destroyed and the archivolt rebuilt, without all the labors, before the middle of the nineteenth century, as an engraving published by Feret‡ shows only three or four scenes, the rest of the archivolt being bare. The restoration of the façade in 1842-1847 did not comprise the months, for in 1848 a bill was presented by Durand‡ for this work, "à l'exception du zodiaque." The reliefs of the months were

* See Comparative Table II.

† The stone is very soft, in its present weathered condition resembling dirty chalk, and perhaps encouraged the finer detail.

‡ For references see the notes in the Catalogue.

then restored in 1864–1865 by the sculptor Michel Pascal, under the direction of the architect Abadie, who had charge of the restoration of the church at that time.

A glance at the façade shows that only five illustrations appear on the left half of the archivolt, and of these the first two, because of their more weathered condition and departure from the iconographical cycle followed by the rest, are probably two of the original scenes, possibly somewhat reworked; the first would be January, portraying a man seated behind a table, i.e. feasting, with a goat-like animal above him to be interpreted as Capricorn (which occurred for January in some of the mediaeval cycles); the second scene must be the scene for March, as it is a representation of pruning and is accompanied by the sign Pisces. The illustration for February, which would have had the sign Aquarius, thus does not appear and was possibly destroyed before the restorers began their work. At any rate, of the three or four scenes which remained in 1860, only these two seem to have been preserved in the restoration by Pascal and Abadie. Since there were no scenes on the façade for the later months of the year, these illustrations had to be based on models from elsewhere. In preparing himself for the work he was to do here, Pascal visited other Romanesque churches, for in a dossier in the *Archives Municipales* of Bordeaux* is an unsigned letter, of June 20, 1865, to the director of the *Travaux de la ville*, which states that Pascal, "d'après l'ordre de M. Abadie," visited Ruffec, Civray, Parthenay, Châteauneuf, Cognac, Moissac, and Toulouse. A comparison of the illustrations as they stand today with those at Cognac can leave little doubt that the cycle was completed by copying the scenes at Cognac, the evidence being particularly unmistakable on the right side of the archivolt. The third scene at Ste.-Croix is taken, then, from the scene for March at Cognac, and the zodiacal sign, Aries, with it; thus, in effect, there are two illustrations for March in the series today, the second one having the more usual sign of Aries, and Pascal doubtless took the old scene to illustrate February. The scene for April from Cognac follows, but May is omit-

* I am indebted to the courtesy of M. Xavier, Archiviste de la ville, for showing me this dossier during a visit to Bordeaux in 1932.

ted, perhaps in part because it has been so completely effaced at Cognac and Civray, which Pascal visited—perhaps also because he may have misunderstood the sign of Gemini as a scene; in any case the scene for June, mowing, follows immediately after April; and above it occur the signs Gemini (somewhat expanded) and Cancer. On the right side of the arch the scenes run in order and are taken directly from those at Cognac. Only one of them requires discussion. The illustration for November, without comparison with other cycles of Saintonge-Poitou, would be interpreted as a man, probably seated, possibly holding an object in his hands, and partly obscured by the following sign Capricorn. Comparison, however, shows that the scene is a copy of the feeding animals of Cognac, but the animal and the manger have disappeared, and the basket is indicated in very summary fashion, so that the scene has lost its original content. The misunderstanding on the part of Pascal, at a time when the newly awakened spirit of archaeology might have been supposed to guarantee accurate imitation, makes more easily understandable the divergences and misunderstandings from model to copy which occur in mediaeval art.*

To return to work executed in the Middle Ages, the cycle at Castelvieu (63), although many of the scenes are badly defaced, seems also to have felt the influence of the cycle of Saintonge-Poitou; the cycle at Aubeterre (57), however, is markedly divergent from it. The illustrations are disposed in frieze form instead of in the archivolt, and a glance at the iconography will show that quite another cycle is followed. Porter† has pointed out the Italian elements in the style of these figures and has concluded that they were done by a man trained

* Pascal's misunderstanding of the scene perhaps was made more easy by the fact that in the execution of the scenes he was probably guided by a drawing or engraving of the scenes at Cognac. The letter referred to above states that, whereas Pascal regularly executed models for other sculpture which he was to make, in this case he did not, because, "M. Abadie a voulu que le zodiaque fût la reproduction exacte d'un estampe." Thus he visited Cognac, but according to this letter would have made no model of the scenes of the months, depending upon memory and the "estampe." As noted above, p. 69, many views of the doorway at Cognac tend to obscure the animal in November and a fairly detailed photograph is necessary to bring out the manger and the basket which the man holds.

† Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, (Boston 1923), 341.

in Lombardy. Unfortunately, the iconography is too incomplete here to check this; the scene of chopping wood (?) in March is unusual, but as much so for Italy as for France. The appearance, for instance, of the cooper in August would have left no doubt, but only the first five months and December appear. Note, however, that the iconography of January accords with the French usage in the details of a round loaf and a knife held across it.

Another region of France in which several cycles are grouped is Burgundy, but here there is not the agreement which would allow the formulation of a characteristic sub-cycle. A peculiarity of the region as to general arrangement is the inclusion of the illustrations of the months and the signs of the zodiac in separate medallions arranged around a portal. Such a scheme is followed on the Cathedral of St. Lazare at Autun (59). The illustration for January is found in the fifth medallion from the left; it is a man seated before a fire, eating; the sign Aquarius follows in the next medallion, and so on. The illustration for April is unusual: a man apparently pasturing two animals, perhaps sheep or goats. The figure for May is probably a man leading a horse, that is, the usual rider or knight. The universal custom in France requires mowing for June, but the succession of medallions here brings it in July, leaving one of the two medallions on either side of the central medallion (Cancer) as the illustration for June; the one at the left is occupied by a single figure, probably not a month, and the one at the right seems to be a reference to gathering fruit from a tree, which would thus appear to be the theme for June in this cycle.* Another unusual scene is that of November, which seems to refer to gathering wood, as the figure carries what is apparently a bundle of sticks over his shoulder.†

A like arrangement is found on the portal of the Abbey church of the Madeleine at Vézelay (81). A second figure, partly nude, of undetermined significance, is included in the medallion for February, in addition to the figure seated warming himself (the fire is not shown).

* The agreement on mowing in all other French cycles may well indicate a mistake in the placing of these medallions at the center.

† For the complete iconography see the Catalogue.

The scene of the man pasturing two animals again occurs for April. Two medallions are reserved for May, in the first, a man seated, leaning on his shield;* in the second a nude figure, possibly female, is dancing with flowers in her hair and hands; the posture recalls that of the priest of Venus in the April illustration of the Chronograph of 354.† In the corresponding position on the other side, two medallions are reserved for August; in addition to the man who threshes in the first medallion, the second contains a man pouring the new grain into a bin. Another curious scene, unparalleled and of undetermined meaning, occurs in the illustration of November, in which one man carries another on his back.‡

A similar arrangement of occupations and signs in medallions is found at Avallon (60), but such is not the case in the cycle on the church at Vermenton (80). Here the occupations succeed each other without frames on one of the archivolts, and are not accompanied by the signs of the zodiac. Some of the inscriptions giving the names of the months are legible and show that the cycle begins with April at the left and ends with March at the right. For the months of September and October, scarcely anything remains but a mass of vines; vintage may have been spread over the two months. The scene of gathering wood again occurs—for December here, instead of for November (Autun).§

* Koseleff, *op. cit.*, 33, interprets this, as also the scene for May at Autun, as a reference to tournaments, by representation of the exhausted (*erschöpft*) knight leaning on his shield. That an exhausted knight was intended seems very doubtful. One should not assume a too complex content in these scenes; the mediaeval artist of the period, in such small and simple scenes, might depict the knight, armed, going to a tourney, hunting, etc., but not the weary knight—and this, not from any purpose to depict only the “happy melodist, unwearied,” but because he thought of the labors under their simplest and most essential aspect: the idea of reaping called to his mind the picture of a figure bending to cut the ripened grain, and the weariness which might follow had no part in that idea. Such relatively complex and subtle ideas do not appear within the period under study.

† Brandt, *op. cit.*, 195, suggests Mars and Venus.

‡ For the other months see the Catalogue. Koseleff’s suggestion, *op. cit.*, 29, that April is derived from the March of the Chronograph of 354 with alteration of posture and clothing and omission of the allusions found in the antique illustration can hardly be accepted. With so much altered, any connection must remain problematical.

§ Some occupations from a cycle at Clairvaux, long since destroyed, were reported from descriptions and drawings by Longuemar in the *Bulletin monumental* XXIII (1857), 273.

Thus there is in Burgundy no such uniform cycle as was to be found in Saintonge-Poitou; the theme of the labors is characterized rather by certain unusual scenes included among others which are common to all France—the iconography of the labors being more unified in France than in Italy. Among these scenes which may be considered characteristic of Burgundy is that of pasturing sheep (?)* for April and that of gathering wood for November or December.

Saintonge-Poitou and Burgundy are the only regions in France in which numerous examples are grouped together. There is a certain number of scattered cycles in the center of France which are marked by the frequent occurrence of a scene of vintage representing the pouring of the new wine into casks. In its most marked form it occurs for October in connection with another scene of vintage for September, so that vintage is referred to in two months; at other times it is the only reference to vintage, occurring usually in September in that case. An example is found at the church of St. Ursin at Bourges (62); for September a man is shown putting grapes into the vat for treading, and for October he is pouring the wine into a cask. Two unusual scenes occur in this cycle; for April, in which a monk (?) apparently is represented, and for May, in which a shepherd (?) may be represented, or perhaps some form of tilling the soil.

At Sens (77), the scene of filling casks again occurs for October, with another reference to vintage in September. And again it occurs for October, the only month remaining, in a mosaic from the chapel of St. Firmin of the Abbey Church of St. Denis, now in the Cluny Museum (71). Other occurrences, not so striking, as there is only the single reference to vintage, are in the cycle on the jambs of a portal of the Abbey of St. Denis (72),† and at Angers in an arcade relief of St. Aubin (55).

Other scattered cycles in France offer nothing of particular interest nor do they allow of the establishment of further cycles especially

* I.e., the man feeding two small animals under a tree; just what the animals are is uncertain.

† An unusually elaborate reference to Janus is found in the illustration of January, in which a two-headed personage (one face aged, one youthful) stands between two buildings: putting the old year away in one and taking the new from the other (?).

characteristic of certain regions. An interesting example is the partial cycle found on a pillar in the church at Souvigny (78), in which the last five months of the year are illustrated; the illustration for November recalls the feeding oxen of the cycle of Saintonge-Poitou. Two rather unusual scenes are found on the Cathedral of Nôtre-Dame at Senlis (76), in which October is illustrated by a man between two buildings apparently taking something from, or putting something into, one of them, perhaps a reference to storing the harvest; the illustration for December, a reference to baking, is a unique case. An example of a cycle in the Holy Land is offered by the doorway of the convent of Ste. Marie-la-Grande at Jerusalem (68), and a classic example of the twelfth-century illustration of the theme is found in the well-known reliefs of the Royal Portal at Chartres (64).*

France is the most richly endowed of all countries with the labors of the months. Yet of these marks of the energy and devotion of her people many are today destroyed. Occurring sometimes in pavements, they became worn or were replaced in reconstructing or renovating the churches; and upon the portals they were exposed to the subtle but constant sculpturing of the elements or, at times, to sudden destruction by less reverent hands. Of such lost cycles there are records in the early literature of archaeology, which, however, are not often to be trusted in detail, because of the lack of opportunity for wide enough comparative study in the identification of the labors. An example is found in the report of the reliefs of St. Hilaire at Clairvaux. † The first month remaining was April, said to be illustrated by "grafting;" a study of the French cycles makes it almost certain that this was rather the figure holding blossoming plants, the flower-bearer, but since the relief cannot be seen today there is no way to be quite

* Albert Marignan, *La décoration monumentale des églises de la France septentrionale du XII^e au XIII^e siècle*. [*Petit Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie* 29] (Paris 1911), 30, mentions a column of the south porch of the west façade of the cathedral at Chartres as having some reliefs referring to the months, e.g., the rider for May. The cycle in MS. 76 F. 13 in the Royal Library of the Netherlands at the Hague is probably of the thirteenth century; see Alexander Willem Byvanck, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la bibliothèque de la Haye* (Paris 1924), 12.

† By Longuemar in *Bulletin monumental* XXIII (1857), 270, 271, 273; cf. also Serbat, *ibid.*, LXXIV (1910), 434 ff. (analysis of the preceding article).

sure, and these cycles have to be left out of consideration. For October "hunting" is recorded, a labor which is unparalleled for that month; possibly it was a scene of feeding hogs, and the "feeding hogs" reported for November may have been killing hogs.* The case of Selles-sur-Cher† differs in that some scenes, certainly warming, remain today, but they are imbedded in a wall as if merely to utilize or conserve the stones on which they are sculptured. I believe that a cycle of the labors was projected here and some of the scenes were carved, but that it was never completed; perhaps it was permanently interrupted by the cessation of work plausibly suggested by Aubert.

IN SPAIN

That illustration of the twelve months of the year was to be found in Spain at an early date is shown by Isidore of Seville's use of the word *pingitur* in referring to Janus in connection with January (Appendix M). The extant examples are much later and do not antedate the twelfth century. The most interesting of these is a textile of the twelfth century in the Cathedral of Gerona (82),‡ which is decorated

* As examples of such cycles one may note: Charly (*Congrès archéologique* 1869, 41); Chermignac, completely destroyed; Chinon, St. Mesme (St. Etienne), where the labor of reaping is possibly still to be distinguished for July (?) (*Congrès archéologique* 1862, 207, and photograph by *Archives Photographiques* No. 67057); Clervaut-le-haut, mural painting (Charles Claude Lalanne, *Histoire de Châtelleraud et du Châtelleraudais* (Châtelleraud 1859) I, 112, cited by Koseleff); Déols (*Bulletin monumental* 1927, 52); Figeac, where only enough remains to make it doubtful whether the labors ever occurred there; Reims, pavement of St. Remi (*Annales archéologiques* X (1850), 64-67, and Nicolas Bergier, *Histoire des grands chemins de l'empire romain* (Paris 1728, 2nd ed.), 200-2; St. Denis, Abbey Church, pavement in chapel of Ste. Osmane (Viollet-le-duc, *Dictionnaire*, s.v. "dallage," and Fowler, *op. cit.*, 167); St. Pompain (Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture*, fig. 1058; Longuemar, article cited, mentions the rider and reaping); St. Savin, where only the signs of the zodiac occur; Sorde (*Congrès archéologique* 1888, 70); Tournus (*Annales archéologiques* XVII (1857), 121); etc.

† Aubert, in *Bulletin monumental* LXXVII (1913), 399-400; the scene of warming is illustrated opposite p. 402. Not so clear is the illustration in Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture*, fig. 1074.

‡ What follows on the subject of this tapestry is said with the reservation that a close examination of the original might lead to modification of certain details, particularly as regards the original form. A thorough description is needed, with investigation as to whether all parts were originally of the same hanging, etc. Mr. Walter Muir Whitehill informs me that he and Sr. Gudioll y Ricart expect to devote to the textile a special study, which will be eagerly awaited as this is one of the most curious and interesting works of the period.

with the story of creation in the center and with illustrations of the months along the top and left borders. Of the illustration for February at the lower left corner, only half remains; it shows a man with two birds on a stick over his shoulder, a hunter returning from the hunt with his prey. Since the name of the month is given, there is no doubt as to which is intended here, and the word *FRIGUS* inscribed at the right refers to the cold weather of winter. Above is a medallion with the sun personified as a charioteer driving a four-horse chariot and inscribed *DIES SOLIS*. Still higher is a curious illustration inscribed as March: a man strides toward the right carrying a frog (?) in one hand and a large snake in the other; a stork, labeled *CIGONIA*, stands below at the right; the sun shines in at the top, and at the left a wind-head puffs lustily—the whole producing an effect of hurry, bustle, and confusion which accords not ill with the coming of Spring in March. The word *FRIGUS* again occurs at the left. The very curious feature of the snake is paralleled only once: in the cycle of illustrations of the school of Salzburg of the early ninth century (24). In the series of ninth-century verses also connected with Salzburg, one reads *Martius educit serpentes, alite gaudet*—that is, “March calls forth the serpents, and rejoices in the bird.” This detail apparently originated in the idea of the sun’s warming the ground and bringing forth the serpents from their winter hiding-places. The illustrations of Salzburg are the earliest extant examples of active occupations of the months in the mediaeval sense, and the figures are probably drawn from late antique sources;* the serpent, as an attribute of March, who appears here in the guise of a personification, is therefore very probably a direct heritage from the antique. Such relation is corroborated by the general conception of the scene, which is decidedly antique: the large central figure not engaged in an active occupation and the inclusion of a multitude of attributes which refer to the life of nature rather than directly to the activities of man. There is therefore in this scene the direct reminiscence of some antique cycle like that of the Chronograph of 354 (7) but, be it noted, a different cycle, a sister cycle, for March in the Chronograph is illustrated by an entirely different

* See above pp. 39 f.

theme, although it is inspired by the same general idea of the coming of spring.

The months April, May, and June follow, their names inscribed, and are illustrated by ploughing, tending flocks, and, a rare scene for June, fishing—scenes which are in the active mediaeval character. The word SOL is inscribed under the symbol of the Sun at the left in each case (this section being missing for April). After the figure of the river-god (GEON) at the corner, there are six more scenes which one would expect to continue the series with the last six months of the year, July, August, etc. However, this interpretation is not acceptable, unless the designer of the textile did not understand the meaning of the scenes (which is barely possible), as the three scenes to the right of ANNUS cannot have been intended originally to illustrate October, November, and December. The figure warming himself at the fire always occurs for January or February, sometimes for December,* but, logically, never for October. The labor of digging always occurs in the early months of the year and may be found illustrating February in Italian cycles.† The other scene, which represents a man pruning a vine, is the most usual theme for March. Therefore these three scenes must be January, February, and March, and they reveal the surprising fact that at least February and March were illustrated twice in this textile.

Before leaving the scene for March, one should note the object draped over the left arm of the figure. A clue as to its interpretation may be obtained by turning to the illustration of the same month in the Chronograph of 354 (7), for the figure for March in that antique cycle is recalled by the figure in the present scene; the object on his arm seems derived from the springing goat of the antique illustration, which is here placed too high, possibly because of the mediaeval copyist's lack of freedom in representing objects one behind the other. This suggestion may be entertained only because of the correspondence in pose of the figure with the figure in the Chronograph; he steps toward

* Although rarely for the last month; see Arthur Haseloff, *Eine thüringisch-sächsische Malerschule* (Strassburg 1897), MS. XIV, for an example in the thirteenth century.

† At Parma (47) and Cremona (39); possibly at Brescia (37).

the right, his left arm out at his side, and points with his right up and away from him in both cases. It is of course difficult to be certain in such instances, especially where an active occupation is clearly intended, that the figure was actually derived from an antique model. If the early mediaeval artists did make use of antique models and repertories of figures, however, such things must have happened. The goat (?), the pose of the figure, the facts that the subject (illustration of the months) is the same and that the influence of antique illustrations is suggested in other parts of the hanging, all taken together give some credibility to the suggested relationship. A knife is placed in the hand which in the original points to the swallow and, with the addition of a vine along the border, the figure serves for the mediaeval occupation of pruning.*

The scenes to the left of *ANNUS* cannot, apparently, be satisfactorily related to the others. The last one is clearly gathering grapes, and they may be intended to continue the roll of the months begun in the left border, which would make this scene September. There is possibly an inscription, *AV..V*, above the figure which might mean August, but I cannot be sure of this. The figure in the scene which precedes this one carries a staff (shepherd ?) and points with his left hand, while the first of the figures swings an object vigorously in his right hand (threshing ?).

The occurrence of two scenes for some of the months raises a question concerning the original form of the tapestry. At the bottom, below the remains of the story of the Invention of the Cross, which has been partially destroyed, there is a strip which has been sewed on and which obviously does not belong there. The scenes are partly destroyed, but enough details remain to show clearly that it is part of another border decorated with more illustrations of the months: a scene of threshing is clearly discernible, and one of vintage in which a man is gathering grapes (with the inscription *VINEA*), while below is part of a representation of the sun-god in his chariot like that which

* The original adaptation from the scene of the Chronograph (accessible in some copy) would have been made by some earlier artist, whose work the illustrator of this textile copied. By way of contrast, see No. 26, in which the scenes are so related to the cycle of the Chronograph as to suggest that the act of borrowing took place in the very work which remains to us today.

is found in the left border; at the present left end of this strip (the original top) is part of another figure, comprising the leg and possibly the right hand which holds an object (a scythe-handle?). Moreover, this strip clearly ran vertically, and the fragment must be part of a border which ran down the right side of the tapestry—which, indeed, considerations of symmetry might have suggested.* And now, since these additional scenes leave no doubt that there were well over twelve scenes illustrating the months, the repetition of scenes for February and March, which was suggested by the iconography discussed above, does not seem so unlikely. The tapestry must have been injured at some time along the lower and right borders, a fragment of the latter border being saved and patched on at the bottom by some pious hand. If the tapestry, as would be logical enough, originally extended far enough down to contain the rest of the scene of February and another to illustrate January, there would be enough space to complete the horizontal strip containing the scenes of the Invention of the Cross and still leave room for a border of decorative scenes across the bottom like that on the other three sides. These scenes might have continued the months which appear on the other three sides, and would have allowed the completion of the two cycles, although it must be recognized, as the series at the top shows, that the scenes of the months apparently did not run in logical sequence throughout, and there is thus no necessary evidence that the two cycles were given entire. If such were the case, however, the whole would be rounded out symmetrically, and two cycles of labors of the months would have appeared; the scenes of the side-borders, to judge by the style, were drawn from one series, the scenes for the top and bottom borders from another series. The suggested reconstruction, here appended, should be taken as no more than a graphic summary of this discussion. †

* Is there any evidence in the tapestry itself, particularly in the hem along the right side, to indicate whether there was originally a border there? Such questions must wait upon a detailed examination of the original.

† Another question to be settled by detailed examination is: Are the scenes of the Invention of the Cross a part of the original hanging? I have assumed that they are. If not, a series of months may have run across at the level of February, including January of the first cycle and the other six months of the second.

The tapestry of Gerona, then, offers one of the most complex examples to be found in the history of the illustrations of the months. The scenes are used not so much as an exposition of a chapter in the mediaeval cosmology as in a decorative sense; and thus no incongruity was felt in reciting the lesson twice over by the use of two different sets of illustrations of the months. In the scenes themselves there are borrowings of antique illustrations as well as more characteristically mediaeval scenes of active occupations, and yet among the latter there sometimes appears the distant influence of antique models. Finally, although it is hazardous to speak of distinguishing styles in such a work and in such a medium, there seem to have been two styles in the models followed by the tapestry-maker: beside a finer, more detailed and elaborate style in the side-borders, there is a cruder one in the top and bottom borders, which suggests the style of south France—as seen for example in the sculpture of the school of Languedoc. These two styles are probably inspired by two sources; the former was possibly closer to some antique illustrations, the latter closer to the mediaeval style of Languedoc.

Other examples in twelfth-century Spain are few.* A complete cycle of illustrations occurs at León, in the Pantheon de los Reyes attached to the church of S. Isidore (83). In contrast to the French cycles, which are usually in sculpture, this cycle is painted—on the soffit of an arch in the interior—giving some color, at length, to St. Isidore's word *pingitur*. The illustrations are placed in medallions, and the name of each month is included. The procession of the occupations corresponds in general to that of the French cycles, except that there seems not to be the distinction between mowing and reaping for June and July; the farmer holds a sickle in both cases.

Another example is offered by the sculptured portal of the monastery of Ripoll (84), in which the months are illustrated on the jambs of the doorway. The names are not included, and some of the scenes

* Such representations as are found in the Bible of the tenth century, No. 6 in the Cathedral Archives at León (Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *Provincia de León* (Madrid 1925), Pls., fig. 82), although some of them correspond roughly to scenes of months, have no definite connection with illustrations of the months.

are defaced; it appears that one must begin in the center of the jamb and read both ways. Thus January would be found on the right jamb in the scene of a man between two trees; the implement in his hands has disappeared and the occupation has been interpreted as pruning or cutting wood. The rendering of the earth in rather striking scalloped details, however, would seem logically enough to suggest the effect of a mattock-like implement on the ground, i.e. digging.* The illustration below represents a person seated, with an attendant (?) near. In front of him are the defaced remains of what must have been a fire, and the occupation depicted would be warming, the most usual scene for this month. Below, pruning seems clearly referred to for March; although his knife is gone, the peasant stands before the vine in characteristic attitude. Returning to the center to read up: April portrays an animal standing (grazing ?) above a naïvely descriptive representation of growing herbage, while a man looks on; a tree is in the background. This scene is perhaps explained by the popular adage cited by Puig y Cadafalch, "Per Sant Jordi ves a veur l'ordi;" the scene would thus represent the farmer joyfully tending his flocks and contemplating the new grain.† May, above, shows cherries (?) being beaten from a tree, a popular adage referring to the abundance of cherries in this month. The next illustration above, that of June, is clearly reaping. On the other, the left jamb, the scene which shows two people carrying a large bale or bag seems a reference to storing the grain which had been cut in June—an indirect reference to threshing. August shows the cooper at work making kegs for the wine for which the next illustration, September, shows the grapes being gathered. October is illustrated by the familiar scene, frequent in French cycles, of feeding hogs, with acorns knocked from trees; November, below, shows killing hogs; December apparently represents a person seated at the fire, probably a reference to feasting as in France.

The most noteworthy detail in the iconography here is the appear-

* There would be no parallel for digging in January, and the scalloped ground might be due to artistic convention (cf. No. 82, May, and two of the scenes of creation); however, the case for cutting wood is hardly better, there being only one example, that in Italy in the manuscript at Piacenza (50).

† Cf. perhaps Autun (59) and Vézelay (81).

ance of the cooper in August, which must be taken as an indication of Italian influence at Ripoll; reference to the comparative tables will show that this is a distinctively Italian scene.

The cloister of the Cathedral of Tarragona (86) offers another twelfth-century Spanish cycle. Here the abacus of one of the capitals is sculptured with representations which seem clearly to be labors of the months, although no names are given. The fourth side of the capital has what is apparently a purely decorative scene of a man attacking a boar with a spear. The occupations run in general according to the French usage, except that reaping and threshing come a month earlier, as might be expected in the more southerly climate. In April, a king, seated on a throne, receives the homage of a kneeling cavalier, recalling slightly the theme found in Saintonge-Poitou in France that apparently refers to new vegetation.* Another unusual scene is that for August, which shows a man resting from the heat of summer (?).

The Spanish cycles, relatively infrequent, thus seem to follow the French usage in general, with a greater tendency to represent reaping in June (and threshing in August), and with occasional marks of Italian influence.

IN GERMANY

In Germany, the labors of the months remain few in the twelfth century. A manuscript at Strasbourg (88), copied by Gutta, a nun of the convent of Swarzentann, and illuminated by Sintram, monk of Marbach, who completed the work in 1154, offers one of the rare examples of a twelfth-century cycle in Germany. That the German cycle was not yet fully established is shown by the fact that reaping is spread over two months (July and August), and, indeed, the illustration for June, which shows a man drinking from a bowl held at his lips, may be a vestige of an antique cycle as seen, for instance, in the June of the Chronograph of 354. The illustrations contain also figures which seem to be personifications of the months. †

* Cf. e.g., Cognac (66); the figure may be crowned, but no second figure appears.

† See the Catalogue and Appendix N.

The tardy development of a characteristic cycle is again evident in the miniature found in a manuscript at Stuttgart (89). Here the arrangement is still governed by the tradition of the antique astronomical table as seen in the manuscript in the Vatican (20). The Year sits in the center holding symbols of the Sun and Moon, flanked by symbols of Night and Day. Around him are disposed the signs of the zodiac, and in a second concentric circle the illustrations of the twelve months. The table is enclosed in a rectangular frame within the corners of which are the four Seasons; outside are figures personifying the four divisions of the day.

Of the rather unusual scenes, that of the hare hunt is characteristic of Byzantine rather than western usage; it is referred to for January, as here, by Eustathius, a Byzantine writer of the eleventh–twelfth century,* and occurs for December in the cycle of the Octateuchs (23). Another rarely found occupation is that of fishing(?), which is so seldom used that one is led to think that it is due to the influence of the zodiacal sign of Pisces, which here accompanies the occupation for March; the occupation is found, although quite rarely, in Italian cycles.† The fact that the man with the trident and fishes here makes a second figure (the rule is a single figure for each month) increases the credibility of such an explanation; the second figure in the case of March and April may have been added to differentiate these two months more clearly. The labor of taking birds, if that is the theme for May, is again to be found, in the form used here, in Byzantine rather than western iconography.‡ Another unusual scene is the ox-killing for November. The rudimentary nature of the cycle is revealed by the manner in which plowing is shown, i.e. by a man with a plow on his shoulder—the final stage, the portrayal of an active occupation, has not yet been reached, and the illustration remains in the antique form, in which a passive figure is associated with an attribute which refers to the occupation. The miniature seems therefore to offer an example of an advanced stage in the transformation of an antique illustration, here probably Byzantine, into a mediaeval one.

* See Strzygowski, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XI (1888), 26, 33.

† It probably occurs at Pisa (52), possibly at Parma (48).

‡ Strzygowski, *ibid.*

It is to be noted that mowing and reaping are here placed in July and August respectively, an arrangement which will generally be preferred in the cycles of the thirteenth century in Germany and is probably to be explained by the later summer of the North.

The final example of a twelfth-century German cycle shows progress toward a more definite mediaeval form. It is found in a Psalter in the British Museum, Lansdowne 381 (87), which belonged to Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, and is probably to be dated c. 1175-85.* The German cycles are infrequent in the twelfth century and seem more dependent on the older forms of Byzantine or Latin antiquity than is the case in the other countries at this time. They show the influence of a more northern climate in the tendency to place the harvest occupations later than in the Latin countries.†

IN ENGLAND

In England, the labors of the months is again a theme of relatively infrequent occurrence. Often on a doorway where one would expect to find them, the representations include only the signs of the zodiac, with the addition of fantastic figures which betray a liking for decorative forms subjugated to no orderly meaning,‡ in contrast to that logical illustration of doctrine which appears more often on the façades of French churches. Sometimes scenes are included which may be characterized as rural occupations, but which do not demand interpretation as deliberate illustrations of the months, as for instance, in the Prior's Doorway at Ely.

In the church at Burnham Deepdale is a stone baptismal font (91) of the eleventh-twelfth century which is decorated with reliefs of the labors of the months under arcades. The names are included, at least in some cases, but are very dim.§ The illustrations begin with a refer-

* For the iconography see the Catalogue.

† The reliefs at Remagen are of doubtful meaning. Perhaps some of the scenes are drawn from the illustration of the months; see Sanoner, in *Revue de l'art chrétien* 4^e sér., XIV (1903), 445 ff. and figs. 2-3; they may be as early as the end of the eleventh century.

‡ E.g. at Barfreston (Kent); cf. Edward S. Prior and Arthur Gardner, *Mediaeval Figure Sculpture in England* (Cambridge 1912), fig. 175.

§ It should be noted that Liwett's report in *Archaeologia Cantiana* XXVII (1905), 259-60 is

ence to feasting in January, made by the seated figure raising a drinking-horn to his lips. February is illustrated by warming, as in the French cycles, but March is illustrated by digging, and pruning does not occur until April. May shows a figure holding a banner, perhaps a reference to the processions at Rogationtide which fell in April or May, but which may refer to the journeys or wars alluded to by the more usual scene (in England as well as on the Continent) of the knight or rider. June introduces a new scene in the history of the illustration of the months in the representation of weeding,* and mowing, reaping,† and threshing do not occur until July, August, and September respectively—a month later than in the characteristic French cycles. For October, the scene of filling casks, in reference to vintage, is used as in the cycles at Bourges (62) and Sens (77). November is illustrated by killing hogs, and feasting follows in December. The cycle is similar to the French cycles but with adaptations to a different climate. Thus the pruning of vines is replaced in March by digging and appears in April instead, the theme of the flower-bearer entirely disappearing. Again, the occupations of mowing, reaping, and threshing are displaced a month and the gap is filled by weeding, an occupation which does not occur in other countries. Further indications of relationship with France will be found in a second font.

The font of lead in the church at Brookland is of the late twelfth, possibly early thirteenth, century (90). The occupation for each month is illustrated under a decorative arcade and above is the sign of the zodiac, the names of both month and sign being given. There

misleading in that the names of the months are repeated as found on the font at Brookland (89), which is the principal object of discussion in the article. They are not so spelled upon this font at Deepdale.

* The scene, not clear here, is elucidated by other cycles of the period (e.g. 91, 92, 93) as well as by later representations such as that from the Psalter of Peterborough, or from the town hall at Leicester (glass), which are illustrated by Brandt, *op. cit.*, figs. 267–68, in which the reference is clearly to weeding, i.e. clipping off the plants with long-handled primitive clippers made of a long forked stick and a long-handled knife. The instrument is probably a development of the *runco* or *falcastrum* used in Roman antiquity for weeding; see Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, s.v. *runco*.

† Interpreted in the studies cited as binding a sheaf; but the posture and action of the figure are entirely characteristic of reaping, which was the most vivid and essential aspect of harvesting wheat, and, as such, preferred by the mediaeval artist.

are twenty arcades around the rim of the font, eight of the representations, beginning with March, being repeated in order to fill out the twenty spaces. The subjects of the twelve months are therefore not well fitted to the decoration of the font and are probably copied from a different category of monuments—sculpture or manuscript. That March is the first month to be repeated may indicate that the model series began with March or that the artist thought of the year as beginning with March. January is illustrated by the two-headed figure (inspired by Janus) seated behind a table with drinking-horn and loaf, i.e. feasting; above is the sign Aquarius. The signs continue in order, with the one mistake of labelling the ram as Capricorn instead of Aries. February is illustrated by warming, and pruning occurs in March, as in the French cycles. The flower-bearer follows for April,* the rider with hawk on wrist for May, and mowing for June. Here the regular succession of occupations ceases, for reaping is put off until August by the inclusion of another reference to the harvest of hay in the figure raking, which illustrates July. This has for its effect the accommodation of the following scenes to a later climate. The remaining occupations then follow in regular succession, threshing in September, treading grapes in October, fattening hogs in November (the omission of the tree again suggests that the cycle was copied from another medium at some time), and killing hogs in December.

An interesting feature is found in the spelling of the names of the months, which is French rather than Latin: Janvier, Fevrier, Mars, Avril, Mai, Juin, Juillet, Auout (apparently a half-way stage between Augustus and Août), Setembre, Uitouvre (*huit* for *oct*), Novembre and Desembre (the D being reversed thus: C). This spelling does not indicate that the font was made in France, † for the displacement of the two harvest occupations of reaping and threshing noted above is a departure from the French usage, and would have been carried out in England rather than in France. However, the very fact of the

* There is no good reason for relating this figure to the processions at Rogationtide; it is the figure referring to the rebirth of vegetation in the spring as seen in all countries.

† As suggested by Nesbitt, in the *Archaeological Journal* VI (1849), 159. The French spelling, taken by itself, might also be due merely to a Norman artist working in England.

change, made clear by the irregular stretching of the occupation of mowing over two months, would suggest the influence of an original cycle such as would be more proper in France, the changes noted being made to accommodate the cycle to English usage. The spelling of the names, then, taken in connection with the iconographical indications found both in this and in the font previously discussed, suggests French models as the basis for the formation of the twelfth-century English cycle.*

Another cycle is found on the outer archivolt of the porch of St. Margaret's church at York (98), in which the figures of the months alternate with those of the zodiac. Apparently there are some displacements from the proper order. January is represented by feasting, February by warming, March by pruning (with a spade standing by to refer to digging), May by the rider leading his horse. June was probably illustrated by weeding, July by mowing.† The other scenes follow in regular order, and the cycle corresponds closely to the French, save for the removal of reaping to August, characteristic of the English usage, here managed by the inclusion of the peculiarly English scene of weeding.

In the Psalter of St. Louis, of the twelfth-thirteenth century, in the University Library at Leyden (95), the illustrations of the months occur at the top of the pages and have unfortunately been slightly cut away by a subsequent trimming of the manuscript. The scene represented is clear in all cases, however, especially as it can be checked against another English manuscript illustrated by the same cycle (No. 93); for instance, in the illustration of January, most of the head of the figure is gone, but enough remains to show that the figure who drinks from a horn has two chins, i.e. is conceived of as the

* The references to vintage may support this derivation from France, for England was not, like France, the land of the grape. Although the labors of the months found their chief inspiration in contemporary life, the tendency of the mediaeval mind to follow sources had its effect, sources which were at times pictorial, here the French cycles, at times the more generalized tradition coming down from antiquity in encyclopaedia and poetry, of which examples have been cited above.

† These two are probably reversed in the present arrangement; the evidence of the English cycles would indicate weeding in June and mowing in July.

double-headed Janus figure. The sign of the zodiac occurs in a medalion lower down in the center of the page. Among the scenes to be noted is that of March, which is illustrated by digging (pruning does not occur), and June, which presents the English scene of weeding. The harvest occupations are thus distributed: mowing in July, reaping in August, and threshing in September.

The identical cycle is found in manuscript No. 233 in the Library of St. John's College at Cambridge (93); the illustrations are the same even to the details* and complete the scenes in the manuscript at Leyden. Thus the figure of Janus holds what appears to be a spitted bird on his staff, which has been cut off in the trimming of the other manuscript, and the axe which the man swings over the hog in December is clear. The scenes show so close a resemblance that they must certainly be copied from the same model.

A Psalter, Lansdowne 383, in the British Museum (96), of the latter half of the twelfth century, contains another example of the occupations of the months. Here again reaping and threshing are accommodated to the months of August and September by spreading the occupation of mowing over two months (June-July); in July the new-cut hay is being stacked in haycocks. The illustration of March is unusual, showing a man with a spear blowing a huge horn. This, as in the case of the earlier Calendar of St. Mesmin (31), is ambiguous; the spear might be a reference to hunting, but the flame-like hair given the personage would point rather to a personification of the wind, producing a scene related in theme to the most characteristic Italian theme for March. Another feature of the scenes is the indication of as many as four people within a frame which is suited to one only; the additional personages are indicated by profiling back of the first or by allowing their heads to appear over his shoulders, which suggests that the illustrations were originally in more extended form. A rather rare scene is that of gathering wood in December; two persons carry bundles of faggots on their backs.

* Except that the figure in April holds the flower in her right hand (instead of the left), although the left remains stretched down to the position in which it holds the flower in No 93, and in August the second reaper's right hand is not raised.

The scene of gathering wood is found once again in an English cycle of the twelfth century, in manuscript No. 42 of the Library of St. John's College at Cambridge (92), in which the occupations of the months and the signs of the zodiac (including their names) are depicted in medallions. Here occur the characteristic adaptations of the English cycle: March is illustrated by digging, and pruning does not occur until April; mowing and reaping are displaced to July and August by the characteristic scene of weeding in June. The figure of May, half nude, holds a hawk and branch, apparently a combination of the flower-bearer and falcon-hunting, usually referred to in April and May respectively.

Thus the English calendar in the twelfth century developed one peculiar scene, that of weeding (or clipping of plants), which occurs in June. It shows a tendency to replace pruning by digging in March, and a preference for the Janus figure in the representation of feasting in January. It is further marked by the desire to portray the three harvest occupations—mowing, reaping, and threshing—in July, August, and September, respectively, and may be characterized in general as being based on the French cycles* but including modifications due to the climate and occupations more proper to England. †

CONCLUSIONS

In the Romanesque calendar, as well as in its early mediaeval and antique forerunners, the illustration sprang from two elements, one of which may be termed scientific, its source being in astronomy, the other humanistic, reflecting man's life upon earth. The first of these recalled the annual movement of the sun through the constellations of the zodiac, which produced a clear succession of definite periods,

* A connection with Normandy is suggested again in the similarity found in the font at St. Evroult-de-Montfort (73).

† There was a cycle in the pavement of Trinity Chapel in Christ Church at Canterbury with scenes badly worn and displaced from their original order. The engraving of one of these circular stones, published by John Gough Nichols, *Decorative Tiles* (London 1845), xviii, suggests that it may well be later than the twelfth century. The scenes are listed by Fowler, *op. cit.*, 166-167, but seem undependable. A cycle was formerly in the parish Church at Easby (near Richmond); Fowler, 175, describes four months from a sketch made before restoration.

the months, to be characterized and distinguished one from the other by the artist; and thus it answered the desire to make more memorable the movement of time, to introduce some sense of order, of commemorate recurrence into that "ocean of time" within which the small round of man's daily activities seemed otherwise to sink without trace. The second element sprang from the thought of man's activity upon earth as its various phases accompanied these divisions of the year, being determined by the climatic changes which marked them and which were occasionally referred to, as by the amount of clothing which the human figures wear.

While this broad conception of the illustrated calendar remained constant, various types of illustration were developed within it even in the antique world. The earliest extant example, now embedded in the walls of the church of Hagios Eleutherios in Athens (1), may be characterized as epic; the periods of time are marked clearly by the signs of the zodiac, but within them the months are illustrated by references to religious feasts and games which make the calendar an expression of the experience of the race as it had been objectified and given significance in religion and mythology, rather than the more prosaic record of daily activities which was later the rule. In addition to celebrations which may be said to illustrate the month, there were representations of the month itself, in the form of personifications: human figures in constant, quiet pose, which set the classic type of the antique illustration of the months. The clothing of these figures varies in accordance with the seasons of the year, so that there is some distinction between them, but there was another type of the illustration of the months in which this was not the case, an even simpler type of personification in which the figures, of bust length only, are not distinguished one from the other except by name or zodiacal sign, as is shown by such later examples as the Egyptian World Chronicle (14) and, to a lesser extent, the glass zodiac from Tanis (3) and the mosaic from Kabr-Hiram (19). This type seems to have been used in Africa and the Near East rather than in the area of Graeco-Roman culture proper.

A third type was found in the antique world, a type less interesting

and, to judge by extant works, less frequently used. It illustrated the months simply by depicting a god or goddess for each. Appearing in the Roman world (Nos. 5, 6), it is possibly an earlier type of illustration supplanted by a more interesting usage.

The more typical Roman illustration of the months was a development of the classic type seen at Athens, and is represented in what is the most elaborate example in the whole antique period, the Chronograph of 354 (7). The illustration is concentrated here in the single figure which in the frieze at Athens personified the month. The additional scenes which there commemorated the religious celebrations are here omitted, although the religious element remains, for sometimes the single figure is a religious celebrant, like the priest of Isis in the month of November. The illustrations, at times presenting the personification of the month, at other times a religious celebrant, thus may be thought of as choosing now one, now the other, of the two elements which illustrated the months in the Greek example, but since both of these elements are not included, there being regularly only one figure, the result of the change is the occasional abandonment of personification as the basis of the illustration. This must result from the desire to relate the illustration more directly to the characteristic activities of a given month, and it finds its most striking development in the illustration for December, which portrays neither a personification nor a religious celebrant, but a figure of everyday life, a slave, who was allowed to play at dice with his master during the festivities of this month. The scenes in the Chronograph, then, show the presence in the late antique world of a tendency to develop the illustration away from the personification toward the representation of scenes of contemporary life. From there it was but a step, although a step that it remained for the Middle Ages to take,* to the illustration of the month by a scene not connected with special observances as is the theme of December in the Chronograph, but drawn from the more prosaic daily activity of man.

For a more complete picture of the spread of the type of antique

* Save for one doubtful example, the arch at Reims (4); see above p. 34.

illustration preserved in the Chronograph, the manuscript of the Vatican Library containing a text of Ptolemy, MS. gr. 1291 (20), is of the utmost importance. The date of the entry of the sun into each of the signs of the zodiac, which is included in the circular table illustrating the months, proves that the table was made up about the middle of the third century, therefore about a century before the Chronograph. In addition to the identity in general type of illustration, there are correspondences of details which show that the two cycles are related; such are the hooding of the figure representing February, the reference to gathering fruit in May, the identity in pose of the figure for July with a basket in the left arm and the right outstretched.* Moreover, there are affinities with the mosaic from Carthage (11), which is a distant variant of the cycle of the Chronograph: the same forked stick emblematic of the winter season appears; the hooded figure for February again occurs, and that of May with its basket of fruits, as in the miniature of the Vatican. In view of Alexandria's place in the development of the Hellenistic world's astronomical science, the formal relationships noted between the Roman cycles and the manuscript of Ptolemy in the Vatican are suggestive; miniatures illustrating such texts of Ptolemy must have been frequent, and through them Alexandria must have done much to spread this type of illustration of the months over the late antique world.

The importance of this suggestion is further emphasized when we compare this Alexandrian table with the recently discovered mosaics of Palestine and with the later Byzantine cycle. The mosaics are especially significant in that they supplement the all-too-scanty material for the history of the illustration of the months in the Near East, and fill the gap which has hitherto separated the antique from the developed Byzantine illustration of the months. The mosaic from the Monastery of the Lady Mary at Beisan (18) corresponds in form (the circular table) and in type of illustration (the passive human figure holding attributes) with the miniature of the Vatican. Details such

* The view that the illustration for November is a simplified representation of the priest of Isis holding the ceremonial platter, which illustrated the same month in the Chronograph, is not tenable.

as the figure carrying a double basket on a yoke which illustrates September in both cycles, and the noteworthy figure of a warrior which illustrates March join with this general similarity to show that here in the Near East as well as in the West the illustration of the months is connected with those figures which went forth from Alexandria. It is thus, doubtless, that the similarities between this mosaic of Palestine and that of Carthage are to be explained (see p. 23). The relation of the mosaic from Beisan to the later Byzantine cycle (22, 23) is equally clear; it may be noted especially in the figure of the sower for November or December and in the very characteristic theme of the warrior in March, and it indicates abundantly that the Byzantine cycle was not a new creation but a development from antique cycles spread in manuscripts such as the text of Ptolemy.

Another mosaic from Beisan (15) lends support to this view, for, although the illustration of March has been destroyed, the characteristic Byzantine theme of heat for August appears in the figure with a fan over his shoulder.

In contrast to all these antique representations of the months, which are couched in a passive form, any reference to occupations being made symbolically by attributes, the mediaeval illustration presents an active scene, a representation of human activity, of the "labor" of the month, actually taking place. No illustrations of the *Menologia Rustica* (see Appendix A) remain; its practical directions concerning the rural work to be performed in each month might have led, if illustrated, to active occupations of the mediaeval type. There were in the antique world certain precursors of the mediaeval active illustration, however; the illustration of the seasons was regularly in this form, as seen, for example, in the catacomb of Pretestato (see p. 32). The most elaborate illustration of the seasons is found in the mosaic from St. Romain-en-Gal (12) now in the Louvre, in which a series of seven rural scenes accompanied each season, thus furnishing an ample number of occupations from which to choose twelve, had one wished to illustrate the months of the year. That this was perhaps done, already in the late antique period, is suggested by the reliefs of the Triumphal Arch at Reims (4); it appears that there were twelve

scenes, of which the seven remaining illustrate rural occupations, and they were possibly intended as illustrations of the months, although not yet in the matter-of-fact spirit of the Middle Ages.

The period from the fourth to the ninth century was a period of transition in which too few monuments remain to make clear the exact course of events. Enough remains to show that the chief development lay in the transition from the passive type of illustration, represented by the scenes of the Chronograph, to the active type foreshadowed in the scenes of the Arch at Reims; and various poems* of the period record this tendency, although they are too rhetorical in character to have great value as evidence for plastic cycles.

By the early ninth century, at least, cycles fully active in nature were in existence, as is shown by the manuscripts of the Salzburg School (24); and this despite the influence of the antique type, seen, for instance, in the figure holding a serpent and a bird for March, which is entirely comparable in conception to the illustrations in the Chronograph itself. The difficulty in attaining the new type fully is shown in the illustrations of the twelve months in the Martyrology of Wandalbert of Prüm (25), in which, despite the later date, much less progress has been achieved; the scenes are in the form used in the Chronograph, a form from the influence of which the miniaturist has escaped in only two of the eleven remaining scenes; thus only two scenes are in the active mediaeval form. The difficulty is again revealed by the number of times the Chronograph itself was frankly copied, and, indeed, to some of these copies, copied again, we owe our knowledge of the illustrations of the Chronograph itself. An especially interesting case is offered by the miniature contained in the manuscript of Aratos at Leyden (26) and its copies; here the illustrations of the Chronograph are copied centuries later into a circular astronomical table; the miniaturist, however, did not notice that the months as indicated by the signs of the zodiac in the table, should run from right to left, and put them in from left to right so that they no longer correspond with their signs.

* See above pp. 34 f., and the Appendix, pp. 104 ff.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries, the current tending toward the new active illustration continued to make way against the imitation of antique illustrations. Examples, however, are still few in number. For Italy there is the Psalter of the Laurentian Library in Florence (32), for France the Calendar of St. Mesmin (31), for Germany two sacramentaries of the school of Fulda, one at Berlin (28), one at Göttingen (29). In all of these, with the exception of the Sacramentary of Göttingen, which follows the antique type of circular table with its passive illustrations, the mediaeval type of illustration with its representation of an active occupation is well established. In England, a cycle with the most elaborate scenes to be found before the very end of the Middle Ages was produced, and is preserved in two manuscripts of the British Museum (33, 34); these scenes comprise many personages, and at times become veritable little landscapes; the earlier of the two is executed in a spirited style of drawing, and the make-up of the scenes and motifs used for hills, etc., indicate that the cycle is based upon the art of the Carolingian School of Reims.

It is in the twelfth century that the number of examples first becomes great enough to allow of the determination of characteristic cycles and scenes. The occupations follow the course of the seasons, in winter dealing with the peasant's efforts to protect himself against the cold, cutting wood, warming himself at the fire, etc.; in the spring with the work of the husbandman, plowing, digging the vines, pruning them; in summer with the labor of the harvest; and in the fall with the vintage and the preparation of food for the winter, usually illustrated in the activity of killing hogs. This relation to the season is responsible for certain usages which occasionally distinguish one country from another, finding clearest expression in the time at which the characteristic harvesting occupations occur. Thus in Italy there is the tendency, not exclusive by any means, but distinctly noticeable, to illustrate reaping in June and threshing in July, while the work of vintage is already in mind in August, for which the cooper is often shown setting hoops upon his casks; one would suppose a twelfth-century cycle, for which there was no other evidence, to be Italian if

these occupations, particularly the cooper, occurred in this manner.* There are, moreover, certain definite scenes which are distinctively Italian: the horn-blower and the spinario for March, the cooper for August, and pulling turnips in October. The appearance of these scenes, especially of the first three, is likewise an indication of Italian origin or relationship.

In France, which furnishes the largest group of examples, there are no single scenes so distinctive as those noted above for Italy. In contrast to the latter country, the harvest scenes here occur characteristically one month later, mowing in June, reaping in July, and threshing in August. Within the limits of France there is a special cycle to be found in the region of Saintonge-Poitou, the cycle being distinguished from other work in France, not by unusual scenes or occupations, but by the repetition of the scenes in identical fashion.† The nearest approach to a distinctive scene is that of feeding oxen, used regularly in this subdivision of France to illustrate November. In Burgundy, the theme was given a distinctive form by the arrangement of the illustrations of the months and the signs of the zodiac in medallions around the tympana of the churches; of distinctive scenes one may mention tending sheep (?) for April and gathering wood for November or December (see pp. 75 ff).

The Spanish cycles are too few in number—only four can be used as evidence—to reveal more than a predominantly French inspiration, with occasional influence from Italy as is shown by the appearance of the Italian scene of the cooper in August at Ripoll. However, Spain produced the most interesting single example of the theme in the twelfth century in the tapestry of the Cathedral of Gerona (82). As was shown in the discussion above (pp. 79 ff.), the tapestry very possibly included two complete cycles of illustrations; at least there are remains of two separate cycles in the textile as it exists today. In these scenes were borrowings from the antique type of illustration—

* Reaping and threshing occur for the same months in Spain also, although there are perhaps too few extant examples from which to generalize; see Table III.

† For a discussion of the examples of this cycle see pp. 66 ff., and for a summary of its characteristics see p. 70.

including a surprising scene for March, a figure holding a serpent, which can be paralleled only in the early ninth-century illustrations of the Salzburg School (24) and which must certainly be a copy from some antique cycle.* Such an inference is reaffirmed by another vestige of the antique here, for the other scene for March appears to be an adaptation of the miniature which illustrates that month in the Chronograph of 354 (7). Side by side with this antique element are scenes in the active mediaeval manner, some of which in style recall the Romanesque sculpture of Languedoc.

In Germany, the number of cycles is again too few to constitute a characteristic cycle. Here the theme appears to be still in the process of formation, as is suggested by hesitation such as the spreading of reaping over two months (88), and by reminiscences of the antique such as the use of the circular scheme in a manuscript at Stuttgart (89). Again there are certain relations apparent with the Byzantine cycle such as the hare-hunt appearing in the manuscript of Stuttgart (89). The effect of the more northern climate is doubtless responsible for the tendency to place the harvest late. Whereas in Italy reaping and threshing tended to appear in June and July respectively, and in France the illustrators placed mowing in June and reaping and threshing in July and August, here in Romanesque Germany mowing and reaping are placed in July and August. If the one occupation of reaping be considered, it will generally occur in June in Italian cycles, in July in French, and in August in German and English cycles.†

In England, the cycles are apparently based in general on the French, with certain adaptations to suit the country's climate. Thus

* The scene in the cycle of Salzburg may have been inspired by verses, but the appearance of the same theme, so far removed geographically, suggests strongly that some antique cycle, at present lost, must have had such a scene. Fundamental to such an hypothesis is the fact that this illustration is conceived in the antique form.

† There is of course some variation, due to a certain choice open to the designer of a given cycle; however, there seems no ground for doubt that the general tendency to place these scenes later the farther north the example, is due to the variation in climate. Archer Taylor has cited an example of the same sort of thing in the field of proverbs (*The Proverb*, Cambridge [Mass.], 1931, 115): the same proverb occurs in England and Norway; but the English form reads, "March grass never did good," whereas the Norwegian runs, "April's growth is rarely good."

the harvest occupations tend to occur as late as in Germany, with mowing in July, reaping in August, and threshing in September. The displacement of these occupations to a later position, as compared with the French cycles, is made by the portrayal in June of the scene of weeding, wherein the peasant uses a long-handled sickle like the antique *runco*, and a forked stick (cf. pl. 62) with which to clip off plants selectively, a motif which appears in the history of the Romanesque calendar as distinctively English. A minor variation is the tendency to replace pruning in March by digging.

By the twelfth century, then, the theme of the illustration of the months had freed itself from the antique passive mode in order to depict in active form man's daily work—the humble tasks which yet had their appointed place in the larger scheme of his salvation,—and in each country was beginning to reflect that country's customs and habits. Most of the vestiges of the antique heritage are assimilated to the mediaeval active conception; thus the figure of Janus often used to illustrate January is represented as engaged in the active occupation of feasting. The emphasis is now upon the activity of man, even though necessarily related to that of nature. This is in contrast to the illustrations of the Chronograph of 354, which may be taken, for the western development, as the type of antique illustration; there the greater emphasis was on the life of nature—on the simple idea of ripening fruits, of growing grain, of blooming flowers, of birds which appeared in the spring; the action of man to take advantage of these gifts of nature played, in these scenes, the lesser part; most often it was present by implication only. In the Middle Ages, however, the latter element not only becomes explicit, but dominates the illustration. It was only in one month that the antique conception maintained its integrity throughout the Romanesque period: in the month of April, which is illustrated by the flower-bearer in the great majority of Romanesque cycles. The figure is not represented as actively engaged in picking the flowers which it holds; it is passive, entirely after the antique fashion. Although usually conceived as a contemporary figure, holding flowers in memory of the newly bedecked earth of April, it clings to the form, and achieves much of the effect,

of personification, as if a representation of April itself bringing flowers again to the world. At least the mediaeval artist avoided an active occupation here. And it seems not inappropriate that when he came to illustrate this month of flowers in the Spring, when man's attention is most joyously drawn to the work of nature, he should turn for a moment his inward eye from the daily activity which fed him and played a part in his salvation to the contemplation of that Nature which had been the inspiration of the antique. The older, symbolic form to which he held preserves some faint breath of the fullness and comprehension which the fifth-century poet could compass in a phrase: *Rident primordia mundi.*

APPENDIX

- A. *Menologium Rusticum Colotianum. Inscriptiones urbis Romae latinae*, ed. E. Bormann and W. Henzen (Berlin 1876) *CIL*, VI, pt. 1, 2305.
- J—(Capricorn, Juno)—Palus / aquitur / salix / harundo / caeditur / sacrificant / dis / penatibus.
- F—(Aquarius, Neptune)—Segetes / sariuntur / vinearum / superfic. colit. / harundines / incendunt. / parentalia / lupercalia / cara cognato / terminalia.
- Mr—(Pisces, Minerva)—Vineae / pedamin / in pastino / putantur / trimestr seritur / isidis navigium / sacr. mamurio / liberal quinqua / tria lavatio.
- Ap—(Aries, Venus)—Oves / lustrantur / sacrum / phariae / item / sarapia.
- My—(Taurus, Apollo)—Seget runcant / oves tundunt / lana lavatur / iuenci dormant / vicea pabular / secatur / segetes / lustrantur / sacrum mercur / et. florae.
- Ju—(Gemini, Mercury)—Faeniscium / vin ae / occantur / sacrum / herculi / fortis / fortunae.
- Jl—(Cancer, Jove)—Messes / hordiar / et fabar / appollinar / neptunal.
- Ag—(Leo, Ceres)—Palus parat / messes / frumentar / item / triticar / stupulae / incendunt / sacrum spei / saluti. deanae / volcanalia.
- S—(Virgo, Vulcan)—Dolea / picantur / poma. legunt / arborum / oblaquiatio / epulum / minervae.
- O—(Libra, Mars)—Vindemiae / sacrum / libero.
- N—(Scorpio, Deanae)—Sementes / triticariae / et. hordiar / scrobatjo / arborum / iovis / epulum / heuresis.
- D—(Sagittarius, Vestals)—Hiemps. initiu / sive. tropae / chimerin / vineas. sterc / faba. serentes / materias / deicientes / oliva. legend / item. venant / saturnalia.
- B. *Hic Iani mensis*. Second century (?). *Poetae latini minores*, ed. Emil Baehrens (Leipzig 1879–1883), I, xii, p. 206.

Januarius

Hic Iani mensis sacer est; en aspice ut aris
Tura micent, sumant ut pia liba Lares.
Annorum saeclique caput, natalis honorum,
Purpureos fastis qui numerat proceres.

Februarius

At quem caeruleus nodo constringit amictus
Quique paludicolam prendere gestat auem
Daedala quem iactu pluuiο circumuenit Iris,
Romuleo ritu Februa mensis habet.

Martius

Cinctum pelle lupae promptum est cognoscere mensem:
Mars olli nomen, Mars dedit exuias.
Tempus uernum aedus petulans et garrula hirundo
Indicat et sinus lactis et herba uirens.

Aprilis

Contectam myrto Venerem ueneratur Aprilis.
Flamen ueris habet, quo nitet alma Thetis.
Cereus en dextra flammās diffundit odoras;
Balsama nec desunt, quis redolet Paphie.

Maius

Cunctas ueris opes et picta rosaria gemmis
Liniger in calathis, aspice, Maius habet.
Mensis Atlantigenae dictus cognomine Maiae,
Quem merito multum diligit Uranie.

Iunius

Nudus membra dehinc solares respicit horas
Iunius, ac Phoebum flectere monstrat iter.
Iam falx maturas Cereris designat aristas
Floralisque fugas lilia fusa docent.

Iulius

Ecce coloratos ostentat Iulius artus,
Crines cui rutilos spicea sarta ligat.
Morus sanguineos praebet grauidata racemos
Quae medio Cancri sidere laeta uiret.

THE LABORS OF THE MONTHS

Augustus

Fontanos latices et lucida pocula uitro
 Cerne ut demerso torridus ore bibat
 Aeterno regni signatus nomine mensis,
 Latona genitam quo perhibent Hecaten.

September

Turgentes acinos, uarias et praeseecat uuas
 September, sub quo mitia poma iacent,
 Captiuam filo gaudens religasse lacertam,
 Quae suspensa manu mobile ludit opus.

October

Dat presum leporem cumque ipso palmite fetus
 October; pinguis dat tibi ruris aues.
 Iam Bromios spumare lacus et musta sonare
 Apparet: uino uas calet ecce nouo.

November

Carbaseos post caluus atrox indutus amictus
 Memphidos antiquae sacra deamque colit,
 A quo uix auibus sistro conpescitur anser
 Deuotusque satis incola Memphideis.

December

Annua sulcatae conectens semina terrae
 Pascit hiems: Pluuio de Ioue cuncta madent.
 Aurea nunc reuocet Saturno festa December:
 Nunc tibi cum domino ludere, uerna, licet.

C. *Primus Iane tibi*. Second century (?). *Ibid.*, xiii, p. 210.

Primus, Iane, tibi sacratur, eponyme, mensis,
 Undique cui semper cuncta uidere licet.
 Umbrarum est alter, quo mense putatur honore
 Peruia terra dato Manibus esse uagis.
 Condita Mauortis magno sub numine Roma
 Non habet errorem: Martius auctor erit.

At sacer est Veneri mensis, quo floribus arua
 Compta uirent, auibus quo sonat omne nemus.
 Hos sequitur largus toto iam germine Maius,
 Mercurio et Maiiae quem tribuisse iuuat.
 Iunius ipse sui causam tibi nominis edit,
 Praegrauida attollens fertilitate sata.

Quam bene, Quintilis, mutasti nomen: honori
 Caesaris, o Iuli, te pia causa dedit.
 Tu quoque, Sextilis, uenerabilis omnibus annis
 Numinis Augusti nomina magna geris.
 Tempora maturis, September, uincta racemis
 Velate e numero nosceris ipse tuo.
 Octobri laetus portat uindemitor uuas:
 Omnis ager Bacchi munere diues ouat.
 Frondibus amissis repetunt sua frigora mensem,
 Cum iuga Centaurus celsa retorquet eques.
 Argumenta tuis festis concedo, December,
 Quae quauis annum claudere . . .

D. *Dira patet Iani. Ibid.*, xi, p. 205.

Dira patet Iani Romanis ianua bellis,

 Vota deo Diti Februa mensis habet.
 Incipe, Mars, anni felicia fata reducti

 Tunc Aries Veneri lutea sarta legit.
 Dulcia, Maie, tuis ducis sexangula nonis

 Arce poli Geminos lunius ecce locat.
 Iulius ardenti diuertit lumina Soli

 Aera: flammigero cuncta Leone calent.
 Poma legit Virgo maturi mitia roris

 Fundit et October uina Falerna iugis.

THE LABORS OF THE MONTHS

Aret tota soli species ui dura Nepai

.

Unde, December, amat te genialis hiems.

E. Ausonius, *Eclogues*, v. 2.

Primus Romanas ordiris, Iane, kalendas.
 Februa vicino mense Numa instituit.
 Martius antiqui primordia protulit anni.
 Fetiferum Aprilem vindicat alma Venus.
 Maiorum dictus patrum de nomine Maius.
 Iunius aetatis proximus est titulo.
 Nomine Caesareo Quintilem Iulius auget.
 Augustus nomen Caesareum sequitur.
 Autumnum, Pomona, tuum September opimat.
 Triticeo October faenore ditat agros.
 Sidera praecipitas pelago, intempeste November.
 Tu genialem hiemen, feste December, agis.

F. Ausonius, *Eclogues*, v. 3.

Iane nove, primo qui das tua nomina mensi.
 Iane bifrons, spectas tempora bina simul.
 Post superum cultus vicino Februa mense
 Dat Numa cognatis manibus inferias.
 Martius et generis Romani praesul et anni
 Prima dabis Latiis tempora consulibus.
 Aeneadam genetrix vicino nomen Aprili
 Dat Venus: est Marti namque Aphrodita comes.
 Maia dea an maior, Mai, te fecerit aetas,
 Ambigo: sed mensi est auctor uterque bonus.
 Iunius hunc sequitur duplici celebrandus honore,
 Seu nomen Iuno sive Iuventa dedit.
 Inde Dionaeo praefulgens Iulius astro
 Aestatis mediae tempora certa tenet.
 Augustus sequitur cognatum a Caesare nomen,
 Ordine sic anni proximus, ut generis.
 Nectuntur post hos numerumque ex ordine signant:
 September, Bacchi munere praela rigans,
 Et qui sementis per tempora faenore laetus
 October cupidi spem foveat agricolae,

Quique salo mergens sollemnia signa November
 Praecipitat, caelo mox reditura suo.
 Concludens numerum genialia festa December
 Finit, ut a bruma mox novus annus eat.

G. Dracontius *De mensibus*. Fifth century. Baehrens (as above), vol. V, LIV, xi,
 p. 214.

Ianuarius

Purpura iuridicis sacros largitur honores
 Et noua fastorum permittit nomina libris.

Februarius

Sol hiemis glacies soluit iam uere niuesque;
 Cortice turgidulo rumpunt in palmite gemmae.

Martius

Martia iura mouet, signis fera bella minatur,
 Excitet ut turmas et truncet falce nouellas.

Aprilis

Post Chaos expulsus rident primordia mundi,
 Tempora pensantur noctis cum luce diei.

Maius

Prata per innumeros uernant gemmata colores,
 Floribus ambrosiis cespes stellatur odoros.

Iunius

Messibus armatis flauae crispantur aristae:
 Rusticus expensas et fluctus nauta reposcit.

Iulius

Humida dant siccas messes domicilia Lunae;
 Fontanas exhaurit aquas, ut Nilus inundet.

THE LABORS OF THE MONTHS

Augustus

Atria solis habet, sed nomen Caesaris adfert.
Mitia poma datat, siccas terit area fruges.

September

Aestuat autumnus partim uariantibus uuis,
Agricolis spondens mercedem uina laborum.

October

Promitur agricolis saltantibus Euhius imber;
Rusticitasque deo est gaudens, plus sordida musto.

November

Pigra redux torpescit hiems; mitescit oliua,
Et frumenta capit quae fenore terra refundat.

December

Algida bruma niuans onerat iuga celsa pruinis,
Et glaciale gelu nutrit sub matribus agnos.

H. *Officia XII mensium*. Fifth Century (?). *Ibid.*, vol. V, LVIII, vii, p. 354.

Artatur niueus bruma Ianuarius atra.
Piscibus exultare solet Februarius almis.
Martius in uites curas extendit amicas.
Dat sucum pecori gratanter Aprilis et secam.
Maius hinc gliscens herbis generat sola bella.
Iunius auratis foliis iam pascua miscet.
Iulius educit fruges per prata, uirecta.
Augustus Cererem pronus secat agmine longo.
Maturas munit September ab hostibus uuas.
Elicit October pedibus dulcissima uina.
Baccha Nouember ouans condit sub clauē fidei.
More sues proprio mactat December adultas.

I. *Laus omnium mensium*. Sixth century (?). *Ibid.*, vol. IV, xliii, 305, p. 290.

Fulget honorificos indutus mensis amictus,
Signans Romuleis tempora consulibus.

Rustica Bacchigenis intentans arma nouellis
 Hic meruit Februi nomen habere dei.
 Martius in campis ludens simulacra duelli
 Ducit Cinyphii lactea dona gregis.
 Sacra Dioneae referens sollemnia matris
 Lasciuis crotalis plaudit Aprilis ouans.
 Maius Atlantis natae dictatus honori
 Expolit a pulcris florea sarta rosis.
 Sanguineis ornans aestiua prandia moris
 Iunius: huic nomen fausta iuuenta dedit.
 Quintilis mensis Cereali germine gaudet;
 Iulius a magno Caesare nomen habet.
 Augustum penitus torret Phaethontius ardor:
 Quam recreant fessum gillo flabella melo!
 Aequalis Librae September digerit horas.
 Cum botruis captum rure ferens leporem.
 Conterit October lasciuis calcibus uuas
 Et spumant pleno dulcia musta lacu.
 Arua Nouember arans fecundo uomere uertit.
 Cum teretes sentit pinguis oliua molas.
 Pigra suum cunctis commendat bruma Decembrem,
 Cum sollers famulis tessera iungit eros.

J. *Martius hic falcem*. Eighth century (?). Biadene, in *Studi di filologia romanza*, IX (1903), 95.

Martius hic falcem retinens vult cedere vitem
 Aprilis rastrum tollendo temperat agrum.
 Alligat ad fustes hic Maius in ordine vites.
 Tellurem curvo Iunius proscindit aratro.
 Iulius ergo secat gramen foenumque reservat.
 Augustus metit et fruges in horrea mittit.
 September lectos terit hic cum fuste corymbos.
 Seminat October quod maturum metit . . .
 Sed purgat semper fruges tundendo Nouember.
 Ecce suem: fastos parat nunc iste Decembres.

K. Verses of Salzburg, I: *Ydioma mensium singulorum*. Ninth century (?). *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Poetae latini medii aevi* II, Poetae latini aevi Carolini, ed. Dümmler (Berlin, 1884).

THE LABORS OF THE MONTHS

Fertur de Iano dictus Ianuarius olim,
 Vel quia sit anni ianua semper ibi.
 Quamvis hic solem notet ascendere mensis,
 Vestibus atque foco membra calere monet.
 A Februa dictus quondam Februarius extat,
 Quae dea de stultis iam vocitata fuit,
 In quo ver oritur et hieme sopita resurgunt
 Atque simul crescunt quae iubet ipse deus.
 Martius a Marte Romano auctore vocatus,
 Vel tunc quodque animal mare coire cupit.
 Hunc primumque fore mensem dixere priores,
 Formatus eo quod mundus erat in eo.
 Dicitur Aprelis, crescunt dum germine flores,
 Frondibus et herbis quaeque virecta patent,
 Praesens ac in eo fructus ostenditur anni,
 Victum quodque animal inde tenere cupit.
 Maius iamque fuit a Maia nomine dictus,
 Post hoc maiorum ipse sacratus erat.
 Elicit hic semen pluviis quod terra recondit.
 Atque simul segetes laetificare solet.
 Iunius a plebe iuniorum nomen habebat,
 Vel quod ibi inde minor inchoat esse dies;
 Quemque ferunt quidam prius a Iunone vocare,
 Quae Iovis uxor erat atque soror misera.
 Nomine caesareo sortitus Iulius extat,
 Qui iam Quintilis ante vocatus erat,
 Quo falce incipitur foenum per grata secari,
 Usibus ut possit congrue hieme fore.
 Qui Sextilis erat dictus ratione vetusta,
 Caesaris Augustus nomine post patuit,
 Quo fruges agri conduntur in horrea sectae,
 Quatinus annonae sumptus adesse queat.
 A numero September habet et frigore nomen,
 Hic quia de Marte septimus imbre domat
 Quando bubus agrum iunctis iam sulcat arator
 Et semen spargens fructifare cupit.
 Octobris nomen numero consistit et imbre
 Hic arbusta gelu nudificare solet,
 Vineae cum reddit mustum seu vascula complet,
 Unde bibens saepe laetificatur homo.

Ipse November agit glaciem, qui nonus in anno est,
 Veste simulque foco membra fovere studet.
 Tunc alit in silva porcos bene saepe subulcus,
 Praemia post eo quod semet habere putat.
 Ecce December habet frigus perforte sub imbre,
 Quique diem decimus crescere notat ovans.
 Tunc quoque de silva porci mactantur obesi,
 Post illis fruitur, qualiter inde placet.

L. Verses of Salzburg, II: *Item alii versus*. Ninth century (?). *Ibid.*, p. 645.

Pone focum mensis dictus de nomine Iani
 Heret contractus frigore sive sedet.
 Annua quem quondam sacrarunt Februa mensem
 Ova fovet quorum portat aves manibus.
 Martius educit serpentes, alite gaudet,
 Frondibus atque suis tempora laeta vocat.
 Aprilis gerit herbarum pendente maniplos
 Se tellure virens arboris et folium
 Menses Agenoreus calamauco fundit opertus.
 Flores ac Pliadis crescere prodit acqvas.
 Iunius incurvo proscindit vomere terram
 Aurea cum caelo cornua Taurus agit.
 Quintilis falcem collo dum vectat acutam
 Herbida pratorum rura secare cupit.
 Sextilis segetes, quibus horrea repleat, unco
 Succidit chalibe sive metit stipulas.
 Semina Septimber sulcis inmittit apertis,
 Quae pansis aequa lance iacit digitis.
 Vitibus Octimber botros decerpit et uvas
 In nova sub nudo qui pede musta fluant.
 Decidua porcos pascit quia glande Novimber,
 Horridus effuso saepe cruore madet.
 Glande sues reduci pastos pastore Decimber
 Rimatur fibris, sordet et obsonio.
 Haec loca sufficiant subito pro tempore, fratri,
 Nam praesens otium mox meliora dabit.

M. Isidore of Seville *Etymologiae* V. xxiii.*

Ianuarius mensis a Iano dictus, cuius fuit a gentilibus consecratus; vel quia limes et ianua sit anni. Vnde et bifrons idem Ianus pingitur, ut introitus anni et exitus demonstraretur. *Februarius* nuncupatur a Februo, id est Plutone, cui eo mense sacrificabatur. Nam Ianuarium diis superis, Februarium diis Manibus Romani consecraverunt. Ergo Februarius a Februo, id est Plutone, non a febre, id est aegritudine nominatus. *Martius* appellatus propter Martem Romanae gentis auctorem, vel quod eo tempore cuncta animantia agantur ad marem et ad concubendi voluptatem. Idem appellatur et mensis novorum, quia anni initium mensis est Martius. Idem et nomum ver ab indiciis scilicet germinum, quia in eo viridantibus fructibus novis transactorum probatur occasus. *Aprilis* pro Venere dicitur, quasi Aphrodis; Graece enim *Ἀφροδίτη* Venus dicitur; vel quia hoc mense omnia aperiuntur in florem, quasi Aperilis. Maius dictus a Maia matre Mercurii; vel a maioribus natu, qui erant principes reipublicae. Nam hunc mensem maioribus, sequentem vero minoribus Romani consecraverunt. Vnde et *Iunius* dicitur. Antea enim populus in centurias seniorum et iuniorum divisus est. *Iulius* vero et *Augustus* de honoribus hominum, Iulii et Augusti Caesarum, nuncupati sunt. Nam prius Quintilis et Sextilis vocabantur: Quintilis, quia quintus erat a Martio, quem principem anni testantur esse Romani; Sextilis similiter quod sextus. *September* nomen habet a numero et imbre, quia septimus est a Martio et imbres habet. Sic et *October*, *November* atque *December* ex numero et imbris acceperunt vocabula; quem numerum decurrentem December finit, pro eo quod denarius numerus praecedentes numeros claudit.

N. Inscriptions accompanying the illustrations in the manuscript of Gutta and Sintram (88). The verses refer to the signs of the zodiac; the prose, which is written on the scroll held by the central figure (Pl. 54), consists of hygienic rules.

J.—Hic mensis Jani quasi ianua dicitur anni

His peragat Phebus capricorni signa diebus. Fol. 7^v.

Meis diebus mediam libram vini ieiunus bibe, singulis diebus. Cingiber reuponticum bibe, electuarium et pocionem contra offocationem accipe, sanguinem non minue propter nimium frigus quia calore sanguinis nutritur corpus. Fol. 8^r.

F.—(missing).

* Ed. W. M. Lindsay, Oxford 1911. [*Scriptorum classicorum bibliotheca oxoniensis*]. See also J. P. Migne, *Patrologia latina*, LXXXII, col. 219-20.

Mr—Nomen huic primus sanxit de marte Quirinus.

Cum sol in pisces radiat ver affore disces. Fol. 20^v.

Meis diebus dulciamine comede, plegium clarum ieiunus bibe, radices raphani confectas et agrimoniam coctam comede: asso balneo utere, sanguinem non minue, solutionem non accipe quia ipsa solutio febres generat, potio sit ruta et libisticum pipinella et bethonica cum melle. Fol. 21^r.

Ap—Dicitur Aprilis ac si dicas aperilis

Fert aries solem cum gestant omnia prolem. Fol. 28^v.

Mense aprili sanguinem intercutaneum cum sanguisugis minue, venam medianam propter thoracem et pulmonem incide, potionem ad solvendum accipe, carnes recentes comede, calido utere, a radicibus abstine quia scabiem generant, bethonicam et bipinellam bibe. Fol. 29^r.

My—Maiæ praesentem censemus nomine mensem

Temporibus Maii sol ambit cornua tauri. Fol. 36^v.

Mense Maio nullum animalis caput comede quia inde venena consurgunt, venam epaticam incide, sanguinem cum sanguisugis minue, potionem ad solvendum accipe, cybos frigidos et holera frigida et acria comede. Absinthium et acrimoniam et millefolium bibe et sanus eris. Fol. 37^r.

Ju—Junius hoc nomen tulit ab Junonis honorem

Estas orditur geminis cum phoebus oritur. Fol. 44^v.

Mense iunio aquam frigidam ad mediam libram bibe cervisiam siceram et medonem non bibe, lactucas cum aceto comede, cataplasma capiti impone, oculos sana pruriginem munda salvia flores uvæ et sambucam bibe. Fol. 45^r.

Jl—Dant nomen Julio veteres a Caesare Gaio

Cogitur in cancro Titan incedere retro. Fol. 52^v.

Mense Julio sanguinem non minue, solutionem non accipe, erucam comede, a balneis abstine, potiones diurecticas, salviam et rutam, absinthium, flores apii et uvæ bibe. Fol. 53^r.

Ag—Augustus victor manet istius nominis auctor

Dum calet augustus fervet leo sole perustus. Fol. 60^v.

Mense Augusto sanguinem non minue, solutionem non accipe. Caulos et malvas quia coleram nutriunt nigram non comede, medonem siceram et cervisiam nisi sint recentes non bibe, absinthium et plegium bibe. Fol. 61^r.

S—Dictus September quasi septimus extat et ymber
Autumpni virgo septembria constat origo. Fol. 68^v.

Mense septembris omnia quaecumque vis comede, quia omnes escae suo sunt tempore confectae. Lac caprinum comede coctum, venam medianam incide, porros coctos et crudos comede propter sanguinem ad dulcandum culum temperandum et pulmonem curandum gingiber et granomastice bibe. Fol. 69^f.

O—Octobrem noris dici ratione prioris
Scit libra phebus noctes equare diebus. Fol. 76^v.

(Hygienic rules are missing).

N—(Missing).

D—(Missing).

CATALOGUE

THE purpose of the catalogue is to assemble for future reference the cycles which furnish a relatively dependable picture of the history and variations of the theme. Consequently it is limited to cycles which remain in accessible state today and may thus be checked by comparative study as to the exact scenes which occur. Where bibliographical references seem called for they are included here. The present study is iconographical and based upon the representations themselves, which thus form the primary reference material. Consequently, bibliographical references are limited in general to the citation of the source of illustrations or of supplementary illustrations, and to additional references in cases in which there is doubt as to the correct interpretation or in which information not to be found in the labors themselves enters into the discussion. As many of the cycles are mentioned often, no useful purpose would be served in attempting a complete bibliography.

References by author's name only, without further indications are to the works cited in the foreword. Abbreviations (J, F, etc.) in parentheses after the number of a figure or plate indicate the months which are there illustrated, in case not all twelve are included.

The early cycles are arranged in chronological order; in the twelfth century they are arranged by countries, and alphabetically within each country.

1. Athens, Hagios Eleutherios ("Panagia Gorgopiko"). Hellenistic Frieze. Plate 1; pages 5 ff.

Jan.-Feb. (Gamelion) 15, personification of the month; 16, a child (Dionysus holding the Thyrsos) riding on a goat (in reference to the Lenaia); 17, a bride? (i.e. a veiled woman). Remaining figures destroyed.

Feb.-Mar. (Anthesterion) Destroyed.

Mar.-Apr. (Elaphebolion) Probably one figure destroyed. 18, Theoria (?); 19, bearded man (victorious poet?) leading goat (as offering to Dionysus: the *Dionysia*?); 20, Aries.

- Apr.–May (Munichion) 21, personification of the month; 22, Artemis carrying quiver and leading deer by antlers (the *Munichia*); 23, Taurus (defaced by later addition of the cross).
- May–June (Thargelion) 24, personification of Summer; 25, personification of the month; 26, Gemini.
- June–July (Skirophorion) 27, personification of the month (holding stalks of wheat (?) in left hand); 28, man, wearing apron and boots, with axe and sacrificial ox (the *Dipolieia*); 29, Cancer.
- July–Aug. (Hekatombaion) 30, personification of the month, carrying wreath; 31, Theoria (?); 32, the Panathenaic ship carried on a cart (defaced by the later cross); 33, Leo, above, and 34, Sirius, below.
- Aug.–Sept. (Metageitnion) 35, personification of Autumn as a winged woman with dish of fruits; 36, personification of the month; 37, Herakles with club and lion-skin (the *Herakleia*); 38, Virgo (holding stalks of wheat?).
- Sept.–Oct. (Boëdromion) 39, personification of the month; 40, a youthful horse-man; 41, the Pincers (instead of Libra).
- Oct.–Nov. (Pyanopsion) 1, personification of the month; 2, a boy bearing the laurel branch of the *eiresione* (the *Pyanopsia*); 3, man treading or dancing upon grapes (the *Oschophoria*); 4, a woman, one of the figures bearing the principle of fertility in the *Thesmophoria*, 5, Scorpio (minus his pincers, cf. No. 41).
- Nov.–Dec. (Maimakterion) 6, personification of Winter, heavily cloaked; 7, personification of the month; 8, a man plowing with ox-team (the Buzyge of the ritual opening of the plowing season); 9, the accompanying sower; 10, Sagittarius.
- Dec.–Jan. (Posideon) 11, personification of the month; 12, Theoria (?); 13, three judges with prizes for games (the *Dionysia*); 14, Capricorn.

The essential material for the study of this frieze today may be found chiefly in two works: that of Svoronos, in *Journal international d'archéologie numismatique* II (1899), 21 ff., and pls. 2–6, and that of Ludwig Deubner in his *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932), 248 ff. and pls. 34 ff. (The numbering of the figures used by Svoronos differs at some points from that used above, since he numbered the missing figures in the same series with those which remain. He counted eight figures missing, and therefore figures 18 to 41 are numbered by him as 26 to 49 respectively.) The earlier bibliography may be found in the above works, Svoronos in particular giving in synoptic tables the interpretations proposed before his study appeared. The drawing with which he illustrated the frieze is not entirely superseded, owing to greater iconographical clarity, by the photographs published by Deubner. It should be noted that in the latter the angle from which the photographs were taken has distorted the proportions somewhat; the figures are shortened, the circles in which

the crosses are cut appear as ellipses, etc.; in this respect compare the photographs after casts published by Georg Thiele, *Antike Himmelsbilder* (Berlin 1898), 57 ff., figs. 8 and 9. For opinions as to date see Deubner, 248-249.

2. Antioch, Mosaic of the Months, discovered at. 2nd century. Plate 2; page 26.

- Jan. (Andynaios) —Figure; indistinguishable characteristics (possibly holding a dish).
 Feb. (Peritios) —Destroyed.
 Mar. (Dystros) —Figure, apparently female, holding bowl and staff (?).
 Apr. (Xanthikos) —Man beside growing bush, grasping foreleg of dog, or goat, leaping beside him.
 May (Artemisios) —Figure (female ?) holding vase aloft, and baton or torch (there is a small area of red tesserae at the end).
 June (Daisios) —Figure crowned with wheat and holding stalks of wheat.
 July (Panemos) —Destroyed.
 Aug. (Loos) —Destroyed.
 Sept. (Gorpiaios) —Destroyed.
 Oct. (Hyperberetaios) —Destroyed.
 Nov. (Dios) —Destroyed.
 Dec. (Appellaios) —Destroyed.

See the forthcoming volume of the excavations at Antioch, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, II, edited by Richard M. Stillwell.

3. London, British Museum, Glass Zodiac from Tanis (No. 29137). Roman period.
 Page 28.

J—Defaced.

F—Defaced.

Mr—Draped female figure.

Ap—Youthful figure with horns on head (reference to Taurus).

My—Two figures slightly facing each other (reference to Gemini).

Ju—Figure with two large claws and four short legs in hair (reference to Cancer).

Jl—Youthful figure with bushy mane of hair (reference to Leo).

Ag—Thin-featured (?) draped female figure (reference to Virgo ?).

S—Sprightly, more plump female figure (reference to Libra ?).

O—Female figure with claws in hair (reference to Scorpio).

N—Defaced.

D—Male figure, elderly.

Flinders Petrie, *Tanis I* (London 1885), 48-49. A note from the British Museum states that a photograph would be useless because of the damaged condition of the work.

4. Reims, Triumphal Arch. Reliefs in the central opening. 2nd-3rd century. Plate 2; page 34.

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|---|---|
| (1) Breeding horses. | (5) Vintage: the winepress. |
| (2) Harvest: Mowing and reaping. | (6) Killings hogs (?), (or shearing sheep?). |
| (3) a. Gathering fruit. | (7) Work with oxen (hauling; or threshing—i.e. muzzled?). |
| b. Haying (?): man with rake, wagon, horse standing nearby. | |
| (4) Hunting and plowing. | |

The reliefs occur on the ceiling of the central opening of the arch. There are no indications as to which month is intended in a given scene, and, indeed, there is no reason for assuming that these scenes illustrate the months beyond the fact that the original number was probably twelve. They do not seem to follow the normal course of the seasons, and it is therefore possible that they were intended as scenes of rural labor rather than as illustrations of the twelve months of the year. The arch was built into a fort in the twelfth century, and has been often repaired in modern times, the right side being entirely rebuilt in 1844; for its history see Demaison, in *Congrès archéologique* 1911, 8 ff.

Nicolas Bergier, *Le dessein de l'histoire de Reims* (Reims 1635), 20 ff., with engraving. Also Salomon Reinach, *Répertoire de reliefs grecs et romains* (Paris 1909), I, 229, and Émile Jules Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine* [Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France*] V (Paris 1913), No. 3681, who reproduce the drawings published by Laborde (*Monuments de la France*, pl. 113b—not accessible to me) with the note that they are "rearranged"; they do not differ materially from Bergier's engraving.

5. Paris, Museum of the Louvre. Reliefs of altar from Gabii. Page 31.

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| J—(Aquarius) | Hera; knobbed scepter. |
| F—(Pisces) | Dionysus; knobbed scepter. |
| Mr—(Aries) | Athena; tipped staff, or spear. |
| Ap—(Taurus) | Zeus; thunderbolts. |
| My—(Gemini) | Aphrodite; Cupid and knobbed scepter. |
| Ju—(Cancer) | Ares, helmeted. |
| Jl—(Leo) | Artemis, with quiver. |
| Ag—(Virgo) | Apollo (no attribute). |
| S—(Libra) | Demeter ? (no attribute). |

- O—(Scorpio).....Hermes, with caduceus.
 N—(Sagittarius).....Hephaestos ?, with knobbed scepter.
 D—(Capricorn).....Poseidon, with trident.

Ennio Quirino Visconti, *Monumenti Gabini della villa Pinciana* (Rome 1797), No. 16 (drawing); Wilhelm Fröhner, *Notice de la sculpture antique du musée impériale* (Paris 1869), 449; Salomon Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine* (Paris 1897-1910), I, 64.

6. Trier, Provincial Museum. Mosaic by Monnus. 3rd century. Page 31.

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|------------|-------------|------------|
| J—(lost). | My—Mercury. | S—Vulcan. |
| F—(lost). | Ju—Juno. | O—Bacchus. |
| Mr—(lost). | Jl—Neptune. | N—Isis. |
| Ap—(lost). | Ag—(lost). | D—(lost). |

Riegl, in *Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn XIII* (1890), 9-11; Mary Hamilton Swindler, *Ancient Painting* (New Haven 1930), 428, fig. 638 (S, N).

7. Chronograph of 354. Plate 3; page 14.

- J—Richly clad figure making offering (on fire); cock; vase.
 F—Female figure (probably personification of the month) holding duck (?); water pours from a vase; heron; fish.
 Mr—Youth clad in wolfskin (personification of the month); leaping goat; sparrows; milk bucket; small baskets.
 Ap—Priest of Venus, shaking "castanets," dances before statue of goddess, before which taper burns; compound "flute" lies upon floor.
 My—Flower-bearer: female figure (personification ?) with basket of flowers; peacock.
 Ju—Nude figure (personification), holding torch, points to sun-dial (summer solstice); basket of fruits; sickle.
 Jl—Nude figure (personification) holding purse (?) and basket of berries; money-sack (?) and two canister-like covered baskets on ground.
 Ag—Nude youth (personification) quenching thirst; discarded mantle at right, wine-jug below, melons at left and fan (?) above.
 S—Male figure (personification), almost entirely nude, holding lizard on string in right hand, and in left a basket (?) or cage (?), with sticks or twigs on it (for taking birds ?). Twig of grapes; fruits (pears ?) above; storage jars (?) below.

- O—Male figure (personification ?) partly draped, holding rabbit in right hand, cylindrical object (trap or snare ?) in left. At left, bird perched on bundle of twigs. Fruit above, and below at right.
- N—Priest of Isis holding *sistrum* in right hand, platter with snake and ceremonial objects in left. Anubis-head on pedestal at right. At left, goose and other objects (pomegranate ?).
- D—Slave, showing dice and dice-caster on table, and holding long torch. Mask above at left, bundle of dead birds at right.

Strzygowski, in *Jahrbuch des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Ergänzungsheft I* (1888), especially 44 ff.

8. Leningrad, Hermitage. Mosaic of month of June. Plate 4; page 18.

Boy holding platter of fruits in left hand, basket of crabs (?) in right. Basket of fruits on ground at left. Fish upon bench and floor at right. Inscribed JUNIUS. No other months are extant.

Korsunskaja, in *Römische Mitteilungen XLVIII* (1933), 276 ff., pl. 47.

9. Rome, Capitoline Museum. Mosaic of month of May, from a house on the Esquiline (the so-called Auditorium of Maecenas). Plate 4; page 18.

Man or boy with small basket (?) of flowers in left hand, holding one blossom to his nostrils in his right. Larger basket of flowers at right, long-necked jar at left. Inscribed MAIUS.

Strzygowski, in *Jahrbuch, Ergänzungsheft I*, 50, ill. p. 68.

10. London, British Museum. Mosaic from Carthage. 4th century (?) Plate 4; page 17.

J—Destroyed.

F—Destroyed.

Mr—Seated figure, female, pointing to bird in tree. Bucket (for milk ?) and cut sprout at right. Two small baskets (?) on a bench.

Ap—Priestess of Venus, dancing with rattles before statue of the goddess.

My—Destroyed.

Ju—Destroyed.

Jl—Female figure picking berries from a bowl with a pointed stick.

Ag—Destroyed.

S—Destroyed.

O—Destroyed.

N—Priest of Isis, holding *sistrum* and pointing to something.

D—Destroyed.

Frank, in *Archaeologia* XXXVIII (1860), 224, 227 ff.; a general view of the mosaic and illustrations in color of the four months is given in plates 9-13; Strzygowski, *Jahrbuch, Ergänzungsheft* I, 50, ill. pp. 63, 66, 71, and 79. The months were arranged in twelve wedge-shaped sections to form a circular mosaic.

11. London, British Museum. Mosaic from Carthage. 4th-5th century (?) Plate 5; page 20.

J—Figure in mantle holding forked baton and basket (?) of breads (?). Cock stands at his feet.

F—Figure (female ?), cloaked, holding two birds or fowls. Fish. Two-pronged hoe or mattock standing nearby.

Mr—Male figure clad in a pelt mantle, holding kid in arms. Vase.

Ap—Figure in flowing tunic holding object (effaced) in hands.

My—Female figure with basket of flowers (?) in arms.

Ju—Figure in tunic holding objects in hands.

Jl—Nude figure, with mantle flowing from shoulders, holding sheaf of wheat. Cage with bird (?) in it, and wheat (?) growing beside it.

Ag—Figure in tunic with platter of round objects (fruit ?).

S—Figure with basket of fruits.

O—Figure holding rabbit in hand. Large vase (?) stands below.

N—Figure holding object or group of objects in arms (basket of fruits ? or twigs?).

D—Figure clad with leggings, carrying sticks (limed ?), "creel" and bundle of birds.

Cagnat, in *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France* LVII (1898), 251 ff. with illustration in form of drawing made before removal; *CIL*, VIII, suppl. pt. 1, 12588.

12. Paris, Museum of the Louvre. Mosaic from St. Romain-en-Gal. 3rd-4th century. Plate 6; page 33.

<i>Winter</i>	<i>Spring</i>	<i>Autumn</i>
Sowing beans (i).	Arrival of storks (viii).	Vintage: picking grapes, the vines on trees (xxii).
Grinding corn (ii).	Grafting (ix).	Vintage: picking grapes, the vines on an arbor (xxiii).
Manuring the soil (iii).	(other scenes lost)	Vintage: treading grapes (xxiv).
Baking bread (iv).	<i>Summer</i>	Plowing and sowing (xxv).
Domestic sacrifice (v).	Sacrifice to Ceres? (xv).	Calking casks, with pitch (xxvi).
Weaving baskets (vi).	Harvest festival (xx).	Picking fruit (xxvii).
Housewifely tasks (vii).	Reaping (xxi).	Vintage: pressing the <i>marc</i> of the grapes (xxviii).
	(Other scenes lost)	

The scenes were arranged in a long rectangle with the figures of the four seasons in the center. There were seven scenes for each season if we assume that the division was equal; there are no inscriptions in the individual scenes, but the seven nearest each season seem logically to belong to it. Roman numerals appearing after the names of the labors above refer to the numbers given them by Lafaye, which appear on the scenes in the accompanying plate, in which the scenes are cut out and arranged as they occur in the mosaic, omitting the borders.

Lafaye, in *Revue archéologique* XIX (1892), 322 ff., with illustrations; *Inventaire générale des mosaïques, 1^{er} fascicule*, with three plates (cited by Le Sénécal; not accessible to me).

13. Argos. Mosaic discovered at. 4th century.

J—Man holding object in hand (magistrate about to cast handkerchief into arena to signal beginning of games?).

F—Man, cloaked and hooded, holding two fowls in hands.

The other months have been destroyed.

The mosaic was described and the two illustrations of the months discussed, without reproductions, by Vollgraff, in *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde, LXXII, Series B, (1931), 84 ff.*; he reproduces one of the seven hunting scenes in plate VI. The same scene was illustrated in the report of the find by Bequignon in *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique* LIV (1930), 481.

14. Papyrus from upper Egypt, formerly in the Goleniscev Collection at St. Petersburg. Early 5th century. Plate 7; page 29.

Each month was represented by a bust holding a platter of fruit, with apparently no differentiations at all among the various months. The months were represented on a single rectangular space, in three rows of four months each, beginning with July. Parts of only three months remain, but they suggest an absolutely uniform series of figures. They have been rearranged in the present plate; the remains of the months September and October are contained in one fragment, the remains of July in a second.

Bauer and Strzygowski, in *Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie, Phil-Hist. Klasse, LI (1906), II Abhandlung*, especially pp. 7, 17, 119, 144-46, and pl. 1.

15. Beisan (Palestine), El Hamman. Mosaic pavement. Early 6th century. Plate 8; page 24.

J—Mostly destroyed; figure with long tunic.

- F—Mostly destroyed; bare leg remains.
 Mr—Destroyed.
 Ap—Figure carrying lamb on shoulders (destroyed except for head and shoulders).
 My—Destroyed, except for a shoulder of a figure.
 Ju—Destroyed.
 JI—Youth in tunic holds fruits in a large green leaf.
 Ag—Man holding fan over shoulder and jar in left hand; i.e., heat.
 S—Man holding jug on shoulder and object (jug or fowl ?) in left hand.
 O—Destroyed.
 N—Figure holding bundle of limed rods (?) and basket (or trap ?).
 D—Female figure, cloaked and hooded, wearing low shoes, carrying two-pronged mattock over left shoulder.

The pavement is from the narthex of a Christian building. The Latin names of the months are inscribed in Greek letters. Probably dates about A. D. 530 by comparison with the mosaic at Jerash (16).

Avi-Yonah, in *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, V (1935-36), 22 ff., pls. 15-16.

16. Jerash, Church of St. John the Baptist. Mosaic Pavement. A. D. 531. Page 30.

All the representations of the months have been destroyed. They were set in panels within a perspective meander in the central square of the church. There were probably four on each side of the square. This arrangement would allow for four Seasons (?) in addition to the twelve months. The names of the months were inscribed, according to the Macedonian calendar, in Greek letters, and the figures doubtless were bust-length personifications, to judge by the shape of the panels.

J. W. Crowfoot, *Churches at Jerash* [British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, *Supplementary Papers* 3] (London 1931), 21, pls. 6b, 8a.

17. Jerash, Cathedral. Chapel at southwest corner. Mosaic pavement. 6th century. Page 30.

The figures, now destroyed, occurred in two rectangles of six panels each in the center of the room. Traces of the inscriptions show that they gave the Macedonian names of the months in Greek letters. Remains of objects in some of the panels and the shape of the panels indicate that these illustrations probably consisted of standing figures, accompanied by attributes referring to the time of year or to occupations habitually carried on within a given month.

See the forthcoming publication of the pavement by Franklin M. Biebel in the volume describing the complete excavations at Jerash which is being prepared by Professor Carl Kraeling; also Crowfoot (cited under No. 16), 10-11.

18. Beisan (Palestine), Monastery of Lady Mary. Mosaic pavement. A. D. 568-69. Plate 8; page 23.

J—Standing figure. Most of body, and attributes effaced.

F—Figure in short tunic or jacket with two-pronged mattock over left shoulder.

Mr—Warrior: figure helmeted and greaved, resting his shield upon the ground.

Ap—Man carrying a kid (?) in his arms.

My—Figure, apparently more richly cloaked than the others and holding object (effaced) in front of him.

Ju—Figure in short tunic carrying object (basket, bucket, or fruit ?).

Jl—Figure, possibly wearing cap; parts of figure and attributes effaced.

Ag—Figure, effaced except for head.

S—Figure, apparently carrying buckets or baskets on yoke. The yoke, however, is depicted under his shoulders instead of over them.

O—Figure in very short tunic carrying round basket (of fruits ?) over his shoulder.

N—Figure holding objects resembling tuberiferous plants in right hand.

D—Sowing: figure holding basket of grain in left arm and scattering the seed with his right.

The months are arranged in a circle around bust-length personifications of the Sun and the Moon. The Latin names of the months are inscribed, although in Greek letters, along with the number of days in each month. An inscription indicates that the mosaic was laid probably A. D. 568-69.

Fitzgerald, in *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1931, 59 ff., where plate I gives a detail of the central part of the mosaic; also in the *Illustrated London News*, 1931, 530-531, fig. 4; Hayford Pierce and Royall Tyler, *L'Art byzantin*, II, pl. 195 (cited by Avi-Yonah). Cf. also Avi-Yonah in *Quarterly Statement of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine V* (1935-36), 20 ff. *passim*, pl. 17 (N, D).

19. Paris, Museum of the Louvre. Mosaic from Kabr-Hiram. 6th century.

J—(Andynaios) Bearded man (with mantle over head ?).

F—(Peritios) Youthful figure.

Mr—(Dystros) Youthful figure.

Ap—(Xanthikos) Youthful figure.

My—(Artemisios) Youthful figure (with crown of flowers ?).

- Ju—(Desios) Figure with objects in hair (jewels, flowers or wheat ?)
 Jl—(Panemos) Youthful figure.
 Ag—(Loos) Youthful figure.
 S—(Gorpiaios) Figure, without distinguishing characteristics.
 O—(Hyperberetes) Figure, without distinguishing characteristics.
 N—(Dios) Bearded man (with band around head ?).
 D—(Apellaios) Youthful figure with band in hair.

The mosaic contained representations of the winds, seasons and months, the latter all of bust length, and departing very little from the pure personification. The Greek names were inscribed in Greek characters. An inscription indicates that the date is about A. D. 575.

Durand, in *Annales archéologiques*, XXIV, 1863, 278 ff., with an engraving. Strzygowski gives detailed notes on the figures in the *Jahrbuch, Ergänzungsheft I* (1888), 44 ff., passim. Not accessible to me were Ernest Renan, *Mission de Phénicie* (Paris 1864), 612 ff. and Atlas, pl. 49; and Musée Nationale du Louvre, *Catalogue sommaire des marbres antiques* (Paris 1918), 128 (cited in Le Sénécal).

20. Rome, Vatican Library, MS. gr. 1291. 9th century. Plate 9; page 22.

- J—Figure, in toga-like robe, holding objects in hands. The objects are too indefinite to be certainly identified; limed sticks for taking birds has been suggested. The long wand-like stick in left hand may be some mark of authority or of ritualistic observance, and the figure may thus represent a theme similar to that of January in the Chronograph of 354.
 F—Figure wrapped in mantle, probably coming over head, and holding a thick stick (?) in front of body.
 Mr—Warrior: figure with helmet and breastplate, shield and spear, and with right hand out-stretched.
 Ap—Figure, in simple tunic or shirt, holding staff (?) decked with a garland in his left hand, large object partly effaced (probably basket or bowl) in right. Possibly the theme is the flower-bearer, although the staff may refer to a shepherd.
 My—Flower-bearer. Figure with large basket in left arm full of blossoms (?) (the pink color suggests flowers rather than fruit) and a flowering twig in right hand.
 Ju—Fruit: figure holding basket of fruit (reddish-brown objects) in left hand and pointing to the basket with the right.
 Jl—Figure with long object in right hand, large round one in crook of left arm. It has been suggested that the objects are scythe and sheaf, but they cannot be surely identified. The general size and shape of the object in his left arm, and its position in relation to the figure, suggest the baskets seen in May and

June, but the paint is partly flaked off and one cannot be sure; the object in the right hand resembles a vine, rather than a sheaf; possibly it represents a few straws of wheat, displayed in celebration of the harvest season (note that the figure apparently wears a crown or garland) rather than a direct reference to reaping.

- Ag—Fruit: figure, with one shoulder nude, holding round orange-colored objects in left arm. The size would suggest melons (cf. the appearance of that detail the same month in the Chronograph of 354).
- S—Vintage: gathering grapes (?). Figure carrying baskets or buckets on a yoke (?) over shoulders. The “yoke” does not seem to touch the shoulders, possibly a shortcoming of the artist, and the objects may be bunches of grapes (they are wine red in color) although they seem large in scale.
- O—Figure blowing horn (?). The horn is partly effaced but seems slender, suggesting a flute: a cowherd (?), or a reference to games or some celebration (?).
- N—Falcon hunting (?). Figure with bird perched on right wrist, holding small red object in left hand. It has been suggested that the object in the left hand is the ceremonial platter of Isis (cf. the illustration for this month in the Chronograph of 354); the falcon then would replace the *sistrum* to adapt the figure to the occupation of falcon hunting. This is an attractive suggestion, but the correspondence is not certain enough to make it tenable. The small red object has no distinguishing characteristics to identify it, but a close inspection of the actual miniature reveals that it certainly is not the platter with a snake on it; the red object can hardly be said to rest on a platter, for what would be the “platter” in that case seems to be rather the left hand of the figure which grasps the object.
- D—Figure holding a forked stick in left hand and with right stretched out before him.

Boll, in *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 1899, Heft I, 110 ff. and illustration facing p. 166; Brandt, 149, and fig. 191; S. J. Gasiowski, *Malarstwo Miniaturowe Grecko-Rzymskie* (Krakow 1928), figs. 75-76.

The list of emperors shows that the manuscript dates 813-820 (cf. Boll).

21. Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum. Plaque of ivory (Inv. 573). 10th century (?).

The plaque contains a single month, illustrated by the figure of a man picking grapes from a vine and placing them in a large round basket on the ground. It is identified as September by the inscription *septem[b]reos* in Greek characters.

See Adolf Goldschmidt and Kurt Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen* (Berlin 1930); I, No. 83 (incorrectly referred to as No. 81 in the text, p. 14);

the dating was changed from "11-12th century" to "10th century" in a note on the group to which it belongs in vol. II (1934), p. 87.

22. Venice, Library of St. Mark's, MS. gr. DXL. 11th century. Plate 10; page 25.

- J—Killing hogs, for feasting? According to Strzygowski the figure carries the head of a hog on a dish, although this does not appear distinctly in the published photograph.
- F—Warming.
- Mr—Warrior, holding shield and spear. Inscribed *martios*, according to Strzygowski, 27.
- Ap—Shepherd, carrying lamb (?) on shoulders.
- My—Flower-bearer.
- Ju—Reaping.
- Jl—Threshing (perhaps winnowing).
- Ag—Quenching thirst, against the heat of summer. The figure holds a fan over his shoulder.
- S—Vintage: gathering grapes.
- O—Catching birds (?).
- N—Plowing (?).
- D—Sowing.

The scenes occur on the capitals of canon-tables.

Strzygowski, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* XI (1888), 23 ff. with illustration; Brandt, 158, fig. 200.

23. The Octateuchs.

- J—Killing hogs.
- F—Warming.
- Mr—Warrior.
- Ap—Shepherd.
- My—Flower-bearer.
- Ju—Mowing.
- Jl—Reaping.
- Ag—Quenching thirst.
- S—Vintage: gathering grapes.
- O—Catching birds (?).
- N—Sowing.
- D—Catching hares.

Strzygowski, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* XI (1888), 23 ff., with illustration.

24. Two manuscripts from Salzburg:

Munich, Staatsbibliothek, MS. Clm. 210, cim. 309. About 818.

Vienna, Staatsbibliothek, MS. 387. Before 830. Plate 10; page 37.

- J—Warming: man crouching over fire.
- F—Man with large bird on right hand. (Hunting, with falcon ?).
- Mr—Man holding smaller bird in right hand and snake (?) in left.
- Ap—Arrival of spring: man points to blossoming tree (?) with left hand; an object (?) in right hand cannot be clearly identified, possibly a bunch of grass in

further reference to spring; it does not seem to represent a knife, for pruning. (The question as to whether it is a stain from the adjacent page or the other side of the folio cannot be answered from the photograph.) A bird may also be represented in the tree, which would recall the incident of March in the Chronograph of 354 (7).

My—Flower-bearer, with an additional vine (?) in his left hand.

Ju—Plowing.

Jl—Mowing (Symbolic: holding scythe over shoulder, as an attribute).

Ag—Reaping (The active occupation).

S—Sowing.

O—Vintage: both gathering grapes and filling casks seem to be alluded to in the activities of the one figure.

N—Killing hogs (?): The man appears to be stabbing the hog with a long spear. (It is possible that the idea may have been leading the hog out to fatten, or driving it with a herdsman's staff, the feeding hogs of the later cycles).

D—Killing hogs, specifically, dressing: a man hacks the ham off the same hog that receives the ministrations of his fellow in November.

Georg Swarzenski, *Die Salzburger Malerei* (Leipzig 1913), 14, 17 ff., and pl. 7 (both manuscripts); Adolph Goldschmidt, *German Illumination* (Florence, Paris 1928), I, pl. 13 (from the manuscript at Vienna; his pl. 14 reproduces a map of the heavens from the manuscript at Munich).

25. Rome, Vatican Library, MS. Reg. lat. 438: Martyrology of Wandalbert. 9th century. Plate 11; page 41.

J—(Killing hogs and feasting ?): man holding zodiac sign of Capricorn in right hand and small hog in left.

F—Warming (this, the intent of the occupation, is still secondary in the form of the scene): Man pouring water from double-necked jug (?), for the zodiac sign of Aquarius. Fire below.

Mr—Man, cloaked and hooded, holding two fishes (the zodiac sign Pisces).

Ap—Arrival of Spring ? : man holding twigs or young shoots, and snapping fingers (?).

My—Flower-bearer: man, crowned with leaves, holding twigs and blossoms; the leaves seem represented as if actually growing from the left hand.

Ju—Midsummer, and Harvest (?): man, nude except for loin-cloth, holding twin busts aloft on platter (Gemini, and reference to the high point of the sun's course), and scourge (?), flail (?) or stalk of wheat in his right hand.

Jl—Mowing: man swinging scythe, with whetstone hanging at belt.

Ag—Reaping.

S—Lost.

O—Vintage: man holding vines with grapes attached in left hand and scales (zodiacal sign Libra) in right.

N—Man leaning upon a staff (in position of a crutch) and drinking (?) from a horn. The exact occupation remains uncertain; the staff might suggest a shepherd of some kind, although the position of the horn would suggest drinking, not blowing upon it as has been suggested (Koseleff, 53).

D—Warming: Man seated, with staff, before fire warming his feet.

Riegl, 39 ff. Photographs of Ap., Ag., and N. were published by Woodruff in *Art Studies*, 1929, 33 ff., figs. 28, 30, and 32.

26. Leyden, Library of the University, Cod. Voss. 79. 11th century. Page 46; Plate 12.

The figures depicted in the small medallions in this planetarium are certainly derived from the illustrations of the Chronograph of 354 and were probably interjected into this table from that source, for they do not correspond to the signs of the zodiac but run in the opposite direction. Beginning at the top of the page with the figure of January (to the right of the sign Aquarius), they run from left to right and may be interpreted by referring to the illustrations of the Chronograph (7), each figure being somewhat simplified. For instance, in March the goat of the Chronograph is apparently indicated, but very sketchily. Riegl, p. 61, interpreted the figure of May as drinking from a bowl; it seems however to be merely the somewhat cruder rendering of the figure with a basket of flowers, which is carried high on the shoulder, thereby giving rise to the misinterpretation. Strzygowski, *Jahrbuch, Ergänzungsheft* I, 71, thought the figure for July was closer to the mosaic from Carthage (10); however, the nude male figure with arms extended for the objects of the Chronograph seems to me clearly to follow that source; if we make allowance for the awkwardness of the artist, the similarity extends even to the stance of the figure. The October has been partly cut off by trimming; to judge by the figure in No. 27, nothing is left here of the model in the Chronograph but the direction of movement and the position of the right arm. In November the *sistrum* is misunderstood and the priest is apparently not bald. In December, as is the case in general in this miniature, the "properties" of the setting are not clearly given, but the correspondence in pose is striking.

Georg Thiele, *Antike Himmelsbilder* (Berlin 1898), 77 ff. and pl. 7; the frontispiece illustrates the figure of Aquarius from the body of the manuscript in color. The planetarium is found on fol. 93v.

27. Boulogne-sur-mer, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS. 188. 11th century. Plate 13; page 47.

The planetarium of this manuscript copies that of No. 26, or its model. Its action and drawing are much cruder, however, the action of the priest of Venus, for example, being very wooden. The other remarks under No. 26 apply here.

Thiele (cited under No. 26), 82 ff.; cf. also the *Catalogue générale*, under Boulogne.

28. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS. Theol. lat. fol. 192. 10th-11th century. Plate 14; page 49.

J—Janus-figure, with sword.

F—Care of the vines: a man training them, possibly grafting.

Mr—Pruning the vines.

Ap—Flower-bearer.

My—Some reference to new vegetation, apparently: a figure between flowering shrubs or trees.

Ju—Weeding? Possibly cultivation is implied, but the implements (a large hooked knife and a forked stick ?) suggest weeding, a scene found in the later English cycles (cf. 92, 93, etc.).

Jl—Mowing (symbolic): a man carrying a scythe.

Ag—Reaping (symbolic): a man with a sheaf of wheat and bunch of wheat-heads (or fruits ?).

S—Vintage (symbolic): a man standing under an arbor, holding a cup.

O—Sowing.

N—Cutting wood.

D—Killing hogs: a nude man holding a huge knife straddles a hog.

Ernest H. Zimmerman, *Die Fuldaer Buchmalerei* (Vienna 1910), 52, pl. 3b; Adolph Goldschmidt, *German Illumination* (Florence and Paris 1928), II, pl. 107. The labors are painted in small arched openings in the frame of the page.

29. Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS. Theol. 231. About 975. Page 50.

J—End and beginning of the year ? I.e. old man holding hatchet and toy double-door (?) or a book (?).

F—Pruning the vines (?) or cutting wood (?). The implement suggests a pruning hook, but the objects carried in the arm resemble sticks or faggots.

Mr—Figure with basket (?) or sack (?) or vase (?) under right arm, and vine in left hand.

Ap—Flower-bearer.

My—Flower-bearer (?).

Ju—Figure with unidentified object (bill-hook ?).

Jl—Harvest: figure holding a scythe (?).

Ag—Harvest: figure carrying a sheaf.

S—Vintage (?): figure carrying vines with grapes (?) on them.

O—Man with objects in hands.

N—Cutting wood: figure holding axe and three sticks.

D—Hunting birds (?): figure carrying limed sticks (?) and sling (?).

The figures, of bust length and with names of the months written alongside, are arranged in a circle, together with the seasons, which, enclosed in medallions, are interpolated between the respective months. In the center is a representation of the Year holding busts of the sun and the moon, and, around it, the four elements, in medallions. The figures are small, the objects difficult to distinguish, at least without examination of the original, which I have been unable to see; the cycle seems obviously an attempt to adapt an older cycle to mediaeval use. The above list follows Zimmerman.

Ernest H. Zimmermann, *Die Fuldaer Buchmalerei* (Vienna 1910), 2 ff., 50-51, pl. 3a.

30. Montecassino. MS. of Rhabanus Maurus. A. D. 1023.

One of the zodiacs of this manuscript includes, besides some of the signs, human busts which can be taken only as personifications of the months; in general they are undistinguished one from the other with the exception of the figures accompanying Capricorn and Aquarius, which are hooded, no doubt in reference to the colder weather of the winter.

Ambrogio Maria Amelli, *Miniature sacre e profane dell'anno 1023*, etc. (Montecassino 1896), pl. 56.

31. Rome, Vatican Library, MS. Reg. lat. 1263: Calendar of St. Mesmin. Early 11th century. Plate 15; page 50.

J—Warming (Janus-figure).

F—Pruning.

Mr—Man on galloping horse, blowing horn; possibly allusion to Wind.

Ap—Flower-bearer. (Flowers apparently represented as growing from headdress suggest that a personification of the month may have been intended.)

My—Pasturing horses (on the new grass?). (The bull is the zodiacal sign Taurus, here in closer proximity to the illustration than in the other months.)

Ju—Mowing: figure raking up the newly cut hay.

Jl—Reaping.

Ag—Cooper: man putting hoops on casks.

S—Vintage: gathering grapes.

O—Vintage: testing the new-made wine?: figuré draws wine from cask. (Note: in the actual miniature the cask is complete; in the present plate it is cut off by the border, so as to keep the figure in scale with the other scenes.)

N—Buying hogs.

D—Killing hogs (specifically it is the dressing which is shown here).

The calendar of saints indicates France (e.g. Orléans, Sens, Beauvais, Paris) as the place of origin, and there are additions of the eleventh century which connect the manuscript with the cloister of St. Mesmin; the date is probably early in the century, as there is an Easter cycle beginning with the year 1007.

Riegl, 51 ff.; René Merlet, *Un manuscrit chartrain du XI^e siècle dans la bibliothèque municipale de St. Etienne* (Published by the *Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loire*, Chartres 1893), with drawings of the scenes.

32. Florence, Laurentian Library, MS. Acq. e doni 181. 11th century. Plate 16; page 52.

J—Warming (figure seated on bundle of straw (?), not on chair as usually).

F—Fishing.

Mr—Thorn extractor: figure pulling thorn from foot.

Ap—Flower-bearer.

My—(Mowing): figure holding rake over shoulder.

Ju—Reaping.

Jl—Threshing.

Ag—Harvest of fruit: man picks fruit from tree into basket.

S—Vintage: treading grapes.

O—Vintage: filling casks.

N—Plowing.

D—Killing hogs.

Paolo d'Ancona, *La miniatura fiorentina (secoli XI–XVI)* (Florence 1914) I (text), 6, and II (catalogue), 4; Paolo d'Ancona, *La miniatura italiana du X^e au XVI^e siècle* (translation by P. Poirier, Paris and Brussels 1925), 9; Paolo d'Ancona, *L'uomo e le sue opere* (Florence 1923), 102, pl. 42 (F, Mr). Photographs in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York.

This manuscript was formerly Number 300, and as such is mentioned by Riegl, 68, and Hubert Janitschek, *Geschichte der deutschen Malerei* (Berlin 1890), 129. There is also mention of a manuscript in the same library, "Sta. Croce, Plut. dext. 12," which may be a mistaken reference to this same manuscript, as there is no manuscript with that title in the Library at present.

33. London, British Museum. MS. Cott. Julius A. VI. 11th century. Pls. 17 f.; page 53.

J—Plowing, and sowing.

F—Pruning vines.

Mr—Digging and raking the soil, and sowing.

Ap—Feasting.

My—Sheep-tending.

Ju—Cutting wood.

Jl—Mowing.

Ag—Reaping.

S—Feeding hogs (Koseleff, *op. cit.*, 57, characterizes the scene as “Hunting wild hogs”; however, since the hogs are clearly represented as feeding, and since the later mediaeval cycles represent regularly “feeding” or “killing,” not “hunting,” it seems that feeding is the labor intended here. The spears, dog, and horn of the figure at the left are not so significant in this set of illustrations as they would be in others in view of the surprisingly elaborate character of this cycle.

O—Hunting with falcon.

N—Warming.

D—Threshing.

The manuscript was probably produced in the first half of the century, before the Norman conquest. The illustrations are in line drawings.

Robert Thomas Hampson, *Medii aevi kalendarium* (London 1841), 394 ff.; Fowler, 139; Eric George Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts from the 10th to the 13th Centuries* (Paris and Brussels 1926), 20, 78, pl. 24c (Ap).

34. London, British Museum. MS. Cott. Tiberius B. V. 11th century. Pls. 19 f.; page 53.

J—Plowing and sowing (same as J. in no. 33).

F—Pruning vines (same as F. in no. 33).

Mr—Soil culture: Digging and raking the soil, and sowing (same as Mr. in no. 33).

Ap—Feasting (same as Ap. in no. 33).

My—Sheep-tending (same as My. in no. 33).

Ju—Reaping (same as Ag. in no. 33).

Jl—Cutting wood (same as Ju. in no. 33).

Ag—Mowing (same as Jl. in no. 33).

S—Feeding hogs (same as S. in no. 33; cf. remarks there).

O—Hunting with falcon (same as O. in no. 33).

N—Warming (same as N. in no. 33).

D—Threshing (same as D. in no. 33).

The scenes in this manuscript are the same as those in No. 33. There are a few minor changes, which are hardly important enough to forbid the assumption that the scenes are copied from those of No. 33. Strutt and others who followed him, including Riegl, arbitrarily rearranged the scenes in an effort to make their order conform to later usage. However, the order of scenes in No. 33 shows that the only dislocation occurs in placing the scene of reaping in June, and the consequent occur-

rence of the scenes of cutting wood and mowing one month later than they otherwise would. On these points cf. the discussion in the text. The illustrations are in gouache, not in line drawings as in No. 33.

Joseph Strutt, *Horda angel cynnan* (London 1775-6), I, 43, 105, 107, pls. 10-12; Robert Thomas Hampson, *Medii aevi kalendarium* (London 1841), 395 ff.; Fowler, 137-8; Riegl, 64 (with older bibliography).

TWELFTH CENTURY. ITALY.

35. Aosta, Cathedral. Mosaic floor. Plate 21.

- | | |
|--|---|
| J—Old and new year: Janus-figure
between open and closed doors. | Jl—Reaping. Probably not intended
as binding sheaves, although the
sickle is not shown. |
| F—Warming. | Ag—Threshing. |
| Mr—Pruning. | S—Vintage: treading grapes. |
| Ap—Flower-bearer: figure holding
blooms. Birds (?) appear in bas-
ket or nest (?). | O—Gathering fruit? (or sowing?). |
| My—Rider, mounted. | N—Gathering wood. |
| Ju—Mowing. | D—Killing hogs. |

Aubert, in *Annales archéologiques* XVII (1857), 265 ff., with illustration; Pietro Toesca, *La pittura e la miniatura nella Lombardia* (Milan 1912), 84, fig. 59 (J, F); d'Ancona, pl. 38 (Annus, Mr, Ap); Brandt, 163-65, fig. 203.

36. Beneventum, Sta. Sofia. Reliefs of dossier blocks in cloister. Plate 22.

- | | |
|---|--|
| J—(Missing). | S—Vintage: treading grapes. |
| F—(Missing). | O—Digging (?) or pulling turnips (?).
Two men, one carrying baskets (?)
over his shoulder. |
| Mr—(Missing). | N—Sowing. |
| Ap—(Missing). | D—Killing hogs: man carrying hog on
shoulder. |
| My—(Missing). | |
| Ju—Reaping. | |
| Jl—Threshing? (much effaced). | |
| Ag—Harvest (of fruit?). Apparently a
tree; no vine is shown. | |

Almerico Meomartini, *Benevento* [*Collezione di monografie illustrate. Ser. Ia—Italia artistica*, 44] (Bergamo 1909), 110, and ills. pp. 98, 99, 102 (S, O, N); Brandt, 166, fig. 205 (O, N). Neither of the foregoing is complete. The occupations are listed, without illustration, by Hans von der Gabelentz, *Mittelalterliche Plastik in Venedig* (Leipzig 1903), 180 ff. The drawings published herewith are from new photographs by Professor David Robb.

37. Brescia, Museo Civico: Età Cristiana. Fragments of Capitals. Plate 23.

J—Missing (?). It is barely possible that the figure at the left of face No. 1, with its reference to indoor occupations, specifically spinning, illustrates Jan.

F—Warming (and spinning ?; see above). Figures stand in front of fire; rake and scythe stand against wall. Pisces at right. (Object at lower left is back of man on face No. 4.).

Mr—Digging. (At lower right appears the man of face No. 3).

Ap—Shearing sheep. Coming of spring (i.e. bird in nest at left). Taurus. Flower-bearer.

My—Missing (unless the flower-bearer illustrates May, which is not likely).

Ju—Reaping. Cancer, at upper right corner.

Jl—Missing.

Ag—Missing.

S—Vintage: gathering grapes; a smaller figure places grapes in the vat at upper left.

O—Sowing (right arm broken off). An infant suckling at the dugs of a goat. Inscription: [*Li*]bra. *Octo*/ber (running around corner to the right).

N—Pulling turnips. Winged head of animal at left. Sagittarius at right. Inscription: *November. Sagittarius.*

D—Killing hogs, at left. At right, a man with team of animals, probably oxen (cf. the gesture with which they are led with that in November at Pisa (52). Inscription: *December.*

The fragments are from three capitals: faces Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 (see plate) are of one capital and run around it to the right in that order. No. 5 is an isolated face of another capital. Faces Nos. 6, 7, 8 are of a third capital, the scenes running in that order to the right, the fourth face being missing.

Face No. 3 may have two months upon it: for the sign Taurus is more closely related compositionally to the scene of shearing sheep, the figure of the flower-bearer follows in the right half and, as the months seem to run in order to the right upon this capital, the latter figure may have been intended to illustrate May; against this is the fact that the figure of the flower-bearer never occurs for May in cycles of the twelfth century, and the entire face is thus probably devoted to April. This is the more plausible in view of the rather elaborate character of the scenes in this cycle. The same uncertainty exists with regard to face No. 1; the figure with a jar (?) above the left half seems to be a monkey, not Aquarius, and, since the figure spinning is clearly grouped around the same fire as the figures illustrating February, the whole face may well illustrate that month. There is nothing to show explicitly which month was illustrated by the scene of vintage, but the evidence of other Italian cycles would indicate September. The scene of digging, on the first

capital, should be March; if so, it is an exception among other Italian cycles although it occurs frequently for that month in England.

Traces of inscriptions other than those given above which may appear on some of the faces are modern, being scratched on apparently in pencil. The above observations are based on examination of the fragments several years ago. Cf. Brandt, 166.

38. Cremona, Biblioteca capitolare. Martyrology of Adone. Plate 24.

J—Missing.

F—Pruning ? (Possibly cutting wood, or sharpening a stick).

Mr—Hornblower.

Ap—Missing (but see below).

My—Missing.

Ju—Mowing.

Jl—Missing.

Ag—Missing.

S—Vintage: gathering grapes.

O—Feeding hogs. (A basket is represented, and there may be an allusion to taking some of the acorns home; however the hogs and the falling acorns are indicated at the foot of the tree).

N—Killing hogs, specifically dressing, for the hog is hung on a tree or post and a man is dismembering it with a huge knife.

D—Feasting.

One would assume that the figure holding a flower in her hand (illustrated, though not identified, in both references given below), is a flower-bearer, and April; however, the description, in *Arch. stor. lomb.*, states explicitly that five of the months have been cut out of the manuscript, and gives only the seven listed above. The figure feasting might be taken as illustrating January, and the description does not record the inscription which apparently occurs at the left of the figure. However, as I have been unable to examine the manuscript, and as the months should be easily determinable in it, I have followed the description in arranging them.

Archivio storico lombardo III (1876), 514 ff. (unsigned), with drawings of the months and of the "flower-bearer"; Pietro Toesca, *La pittura e la miniatura nella Lombardia* (Milan 1912), 77-78, fig. 56 (the "flower-bearer").

39. Cremona. Cathedral. Frieze on porch. 12th-13th century. Plate 25; page 60.

J—Feasting: a man seated before a fire, holding a cup; objects such as sausages hang over a stick back of the fire, and to the left appears Aquarius as if a servant.

F—Digging the soil. Pisces appears at the left.

Mr—Hornblower (?), i.e. a figure holding an object to his mouth. To the right is a female figure of indeterminate significance, holding left hand at breast and an object in right; it may be a second figure for March. (It appears also in the baptistery at Parma (47), and at Ferrara (40) on the same slab as March.)

Ap—Flower-bearer.

My—Rider, holding sickle in right hand. Of the sickle Porter remarks, "A crescent, probably intended to denote the moon, rises in the background," thus exemplifying the kind of interpretation to be avoided. Such a picturesque idea would not have occurred to a sculptor of the period for illustrating a month, and the sickle is amply clear in other representations, as in the Baptistery at Parma (47), a cycle which is very close to the present one in iconography. The sign Gemini is apparently represented by the two figures in a fruit-tree at the left of the rider.

Ju—Reaping. Cancer is represented above the back of the figure.

Jl—Threshing: a man driving two oxen (?) over the threshing floor. Leo is represented below.

Ag—Cooper. Virgo stands at the left.

S—Vintage: gathering grapes. Libra stands to the left.

O—Sowing (?), i.e. a figure carrying a bucket or basket and with his right hand extended in a gesture of sowing; the fattening of hogs is also referred to in the hog feeding at the foot of the tree behind the man. Amid the branches of the tree is represented the sign Scorpio.

N—Killing hogs: the hog hangs by its hind feet, ready to be dressed. Sagittarius appears at the left as a man, with horse's hoofs, shooting a bow.

D—Cutting wood. Capricorn at the left of and in the tree at which the man hacks.

The figures are disposed in a frieze without divisions between them, accompanied by the signs of the zodiac which are noted above. February occurs at the extreme left of the frieze, and January next to the right; then, beginning with March at the right end of the frieze, the remaining months of the year run in order from right to left, December being found just to the right of January. The scenes and signs are badly misinterpreted by Porter, so that his description is completely undependable as to iconography, although his reporting of material is usually accurate.

Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana* III, 318-22, figs. 306-7; Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture* (New Haven 1917), II, 371 ff.; Brandt, 172-73, figs. 213-14.

40. Ferrara, Museo del Duomo. Sculptured slabs from the façade (*Porta dei Mesi*). Plate 26; page 60.

- J—Feasting: Janus-figure, seated (before a kettle on a fire, which is misplaced to February), holding a jug and raising cup (?) or bread (?) to mouth.
- F—Cutting wood (rather than pruning ?). This labor is shown to be February, not December, by the series at Arezzo (Pieve di Sta. Maria); see Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, III, figs. 855-56.
- Mr—Horn-blower (and woman holding flower).
- Ap—Missing. (The figure holding a flower, on the same slab as the horn-blower, is probably a secondary figure for March; cf. the text.)
- My—Missing.
- Ju—Missing. Or, gathering fruit?
- Jl—Threshing: a man drives a horse over the sheaves of wheat.
- Ag—Cooper.
- S—Vintage: gathering grapes.
- O—Missing? Or, gathering fruit? Or, child suckling at goat.
- N—Missing? Or, pulling turnips?
- D—Missing.

The six slabs containing the seven labors given above without question, are those mentioned in the literature of the subject, as by Brandt, 175-76, figs. 217-22, Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana* III, 322, figs. 310-11, Pietro Toesca, *Storia dell'arte italiana* (Turin 1927) II, 783, fig. 486 (S), and d'Ancona, pl. 45, and published in the Alinari collection of photographs, Nos. 10795-96.

Those which are questioned, above, are from five additional slabs, on display in the Museum in 1933 and said to have been discovered in 1932. They are of approximately the same size, done in the same manner, with framing projections at top and bottom but none at the sides, and the question arises whether they are five of the slabs heretofore missing (cf. G. Agnelli, *Ferrara, porte di chiese, di palazze, di case* (Bergamo 1909) as to their being at the University). Unfortunately, whereas the six heretofore known contain distinctive enough scenes to allow of reasonable certainty in identifying the labors and the months, the new scenes do not fit clearly into the picture of the Italian labors furnished by Comparative Table I. The five new slabs are sculptured with: (1) a plant, filling the entire slab; (2) an infant lying underneath a goat (?) and suckling at its dugs; (3) a man climbing a tree to pick fruit, a small Scorpio (?) being represented beside the tree; (4) a man (torso remaining) pulling turnips (?); (5) the upper torso of a man (apparently not a centaur) shooting a bow.

To insist that these slabs were, respectively, My, Ju, O, N, and D would not be justifiable; as is always the case with isolated scenes lacking names or signs of the zodiac to identify them, there is no necessary reason for assuming that all of them are illustrations of the months. Thus slab No. 1, above, may have been an illustra-

tion of a month, but more likely it was not. Even if the new slabs are part of the old series, some of them may contain merely decorative scenes, and there may be others not yet discovered. Scene No. 3, if a reference to gathering fruit, may more justly be called a month, possibly October, if the animal is Scorpio; however, there were cycles in which Scorpio occurs with November, and the scene of the suckling infant may be the illustration for October, as on the capitals at Brescia (37), where an inscription identifies the month; in that case pulling turnips would illustrate November, as, again identified by an inscription, on the capitals at Brescia (37), and scene No. 3 could be for June. The figure with the bow (hunting) would be unparalleled for December.

These slabs illustrate the difficulty of identifying with certainty the individual months when they are not found in a complete cycle and when there are no signs of the zodiac or inscribed names. The scenes were apparently copied from some cycle in the form of a frieze, as is shown by the mistake whereby the fire and kettle of January appear in the slab allotted to February. Since the fire and kettle were doubtless represented in front of the Janus-figure (cf. the cycle at Arezzo mentioned under February above), one may assume that the scenes ran from right to left in the model. Cf. *La cattedrale di Ferrara*, a cura del Comitato per la celebrazione del centenario (Verona 1935), to which Mr. R. W. Lee refers me as these pages are being printed.

41. Fidenza (formerly Borgo San Donnino), Cathedral. Reliefs on apse. Page 61.

J—Feasting (Janus-figure).

F—Missing.

Mr—Horn-blower, holding baton over shoulder (and woman holding flower).

Ap—Missing. (The figure holding a flower, on the same slab as March, is probably a secondary figure for March; cf. the text.)

My—Rider.

Ju—Missing.

Jl—Missing.

Ag—Missing.

S—Gathering grapes? I.e. a woman between a tree (?) and a vine.

O—Missing.

N—Missing.

D—Missing.

There is some doubt as to the right of these scenes to be classed as illustrations of the months. The appearance of the characteristic scenes of March and May, however, and the similarity between the figures of March (the second figure, holding a flower, may be for April but is probably an additional figure for March) and

those illustrating the same months at Ferrara (40), where there is more reason to assume the presence of a cycle of the months, seem warrant enough for including them. Venturi reports "storing food" for December, which apparently refers to the scene for January. Some confusion may be caused by the three figures which occur above the scene of the rider and depict: (1) a woman (?); (2) a man; and (3) of man climbing a tree. They are probably not illustrations of the months. On the façade are scenes which may recall illustrations of the months, such as a sagittarius and mounted figures blowing horns, but they are decorative scenes and not directly connected with the months.

Hans von der Gabelentz, *Mittelalterliche Plastik in Venedig* (Leipzig 1903), 177 ff.; Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana* III, 336, note 1; Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture* (New Haven 1917) II, 193.

42. Florence, National Museum. Baptismal Font. 12th-13th century.

J—Janus-figure, possibly as Aquarius, with millstone (?) and lines under feet suggesting running water.

F—Figure, mutilated.

Mr—Thorn-extractor.

Ap—Figure, walking, carrying object (Flower-bearer?).

My—Rider.

Ju—Reaping.

Jl—Threshing, i.e. figure with flail.

Ag—Mounted man (hunting?).

S—Vintage: treading grapes.

O—Gathering fruit?

N—Plowing. (Two putti, above oxen, are probably decorative figures.)

D—Killing hogs: hog lies on its back, man kneels on its head and cuts its throat.

This strange set of reliefs occurs on the canopy above the receptacle for the water; above them is a second cone on which are the figures of the apostles. Toesca dates it at the end of the twelfth century; to me it appears later. Campetti's study furnishes the chief source of information, including older bibliography; his illustrations are from the three photographs by Alinari noted below and, in addition, reproduce drawings of the eighteenth century showing that the font formed the upper part of the font in S. Frediano, Lucca, illustrated in his article and also by Venturi, fig. 843 and Toesca, fig. 540.

Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana* III, 952-53; Pietro Toesca, *Storia dell'arte italiana* (Turin 1927) II, 813; Campetti, in *Dedalo* VII (1926-27), 333 ff., especially 339, with illustrations as in photographs cited next; photographs by Alinari, Nos. 32895 (gen view, and Ap-Ag), 17154 (O-D), 17155 (J-Mr, N, D).

43. Lentini (Sicily), Chiesa della Fontana. Marble font or capital.

- J—Missing.
- F—Missing.
- Mr—Missing.
- Ap—Missing.
- My—(Flower-bearer): figure with basket of flowers?
- Ju—(Harvest of fruit): figure with basket of fruit?
- Jl—(Reaping) hatted figure holding sickle.
- Ag—(Harvest of fruit): figure with basket of fruit (and garland (?) on head)?
- S—(Vintage ?): figure with stick over shoulder which Salinas interprets as a receptacle of grapes carried on the stick, Venturi as a hoe.
- O—Figure with a vase (perhaps tasting wine ?).
- N—Indistinct.
- D—(Killing hogs): figure with a hog.

These illustrations maintain the older antique form; the figures stand passively under architectural frames, and reference to labors is not by representation of the occupation but indirectly by means of implements carried by the figures. The scenes are thus close to personifications in form, and the labors implied by the attributes are given in parentheses above. The figures occur around what is usually listed as a capital, but Salinas reports that it is rather a font. The separate months are identified by inscribed names (cf. Salinas).

Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana* III, 576–77, figs. 536–37 (Ju–O); Salinas, in *L'Arte* VI (1903), 159; d'Ancona, 104; Brandt, 166, fig. 204 (Ag, S).

44. Modena, Cathedral, Porta della Pescheria. Reliefs on jambs. Plate 27.

- J—Feasting: man with loaf and knife (?). (Probably not “sharpening hatchet”.)
- F—Warming.
- Mr—Pruning.
- Ap—Flower-bearer.
- My—Rider, leading horse (of which only the head is shown).
- Ju—Mowing.
- Jl—Reaping.
- Ag—Threshing. (Plowing, by Gabelentz, and hoeing, by Venturi, have been suggested, but the stalks of wheat on the floor indicate threshing.)
- S—Vintage: treading grapes.
- O—Vintage: filling casks.
- N—Sowing.
- D—Cutting wood.

The months are identified by the names inscribed on the background of the reliefs. The scenes run from bottom to top, J—Ju at the right, Jl—D at the left.

Hans von der Gabelentz, *Mittelalterliche Plastik in Venedig* (Leipzig 1903), 176; Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana* III, 162; Giulio Bertoni, *Atlante storico-paleografico del duomo di Modena* (Modena 1909), pl. 48 (all months); Pietro Toesca, *Storia dell'arte italiana* (Turin, 1927), II, fig. 486 (My, Ju); Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture* (New Haven 1917) III, 45.

45. Monreale, Cathedral. Capitals of the cloister.

J—Warming.	Jl—Reaping.
F—Cutting wood.	Ag—Cooper.
Mr—Horn-blower.	S—Vintage.
Ap—Flower-bearer.	O—Sowing.
My—Rider?	N—Feeding hogs.
Ju—Mowing, i.e. man with scythe.	D—Killing hogs.

Hans von der Gabelentz, *Mittelalterliche Plastik in Venedig* (Leipzig 1903), 177.

46. Otranto, Cathedral. Mosaic pavement.

J—Warming.	Jl—Threshing.
F—Feasting (roast hog).	Ag—Vintage: gathering grapes.
Mr—Thorn-extractor.	S—Vintage: pressing grapes.
Ap—Shepherd.	O—Plowing.
My—Gathering fruit.	N—Sowing.
Ju—Reaping.	D—Killing hogs.

Giuseppe Gigli, *Il tallone d'Italia II: Gallipoli, Otranto e dintorni* [Collezione di monografie illustrate. Ser. Ia, Italia artistica 68], 99 ff., with ill. of Mr, Jl, and O; d'Ancona, pl. 36 (My—Ag).

47. Parma, Baptistery. Reliefs in the triforium. 12–13th century. Plate 28.

J—Seated man (Janus-figure); the figure was originally thought of as warming, drawing up his robes before the fire, as a comparison with the figure on the Cathedral (48) shows. There may be parts of a second series here, as the small figures in a recess below this figure contain (1) a figure cooking sausages (?) hung over a stick (cf. Cremona, 39), (2) a figure chopping wood as if for the fire tended by his fellow, and (3) a figure holding a water-jug in the gesture of pouring, probably the sign Aquarius (see plate). It is possible, however, that these figures were considered merely as amplifications of the illustration of this month and not as part of a second cycle.

- F—Digging the soil. Pisces appears above on the same slab. (Between this figure and that of February, there is now a bearded figure, (see plate), nude except for the fold of a mantle, (cf. the figure in February at Vezelay, 81) who holds a scroll, probably not a month.)
- Mr—Horn-blower. Aries now appears in a recess under the figure. Probably the figure of a woman (see plate), today set between May and June, also belongs to this month, as the same figure occurs with the horn-blower in the frieze at Cremona (39).
- Ap—Flower-bearer: a crowned figure holding a palm (?) in his right hand and a flower in his left. (There is no good reason for calling this figure June, as do Venturi and d'Ancona, 106.) Taurus appears underneath.
- My—Rider, holding a sickle in right hand (incorrectly interpreted on occasion as a banner). Gemini (?), affronted on either side of a tree, underneath.
- Ju—Reaping. Cancer underneath. (For the female figure between May and June see above, under March.)
- Jl—Threshing: a man driving two animals over the wheat which is spread on a stylized representation of a threshing floor. Leo underneath.
- Ag—Cooper: the work of setting the hoops upon a cask is represented with especial clarity. Virgo (?) below; i.e. a woman picking fruit from a tree.
- S—Vintage: gathering grapes. Libra appears below the vintner on the same slab.
- O—Sowing: a figure with right hand outstretched as if scattering the seed, the left as if holding the fold of the mantle containing it (cf. Cremona, 39). Scorpio which accompanied the figure on the same slab, was represented in the branches of a tree (again cf. Cremona, 39); this part of the slab (see plate) is now broken off and is set in the space to the right of September.
- N—Pulling turnips, or the like. Sagittarius on the same slab is distinguished from a man shooting a bow only by horse's hoofs instead of human feet, and a tail.
- D—Cutting wood. Capricorn, in a recess, below.

The months are sculptured on slabs which were possibly intended to be set in some part of the walls of the building; they may have been destined for the spaces in the gallery, however, where they now appear, as the recesses below seem to have been designed for the signs of the zodiac which now appear in them, although only for some of the months; for the others the signs are merely attached to the wall underneath, or are sculptured upon the same slab as the illustration of the month itself. In the case of January the sign was apparently supplemented by incidents of additional labors.

On the Baptistery and its sculptures in general, cf. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana* III, 316-18, fig. 305 (My, Ju; showing also the setting of the slabs in the gallery), and Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture* (New Haven 1917), III, 133 ff., especially 140.

48. Parma, Cathedral. Reliefs on archivolt of doorway. Plate 29.

- J—Warming (Janus-figure).
 F—Catching birds (?) or fishing (?): man with basket and a net on a pole.
 Mr—Thorn-extractor. (Porter's suggestion is wide of the mark; the figure is the familiar thorn-extractor.)
 Ap—Flower-bearer.
 My—Rider, leading saddled horse.
 Ju—Mowing, i.e. a man sharpening a scythe.
 Jl—Reaping.
 Ag—Cooper.
 S—Vintage: gathering grapes.
 O—Vintage: tasting wine? I.e. seated man, crowned, holding cup.
 N—Killing hogs, specifically dressing.
 D—Cutting wood: man hacks limbs from tree (vine ?) with heavy knife.

The scenes begin with March at the left end of the archivolt. No signs of the zodiac or names are given, but the appearance of distinctive scenes (as in Mr, My, Ag) and the number of representations leave no doubt as to the identity of the individual months. At the center of the archivolt is a representation of the sun. The interpretation of the scenes offers no difficulty and is based on the photographs; for other material cf. Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana* III, 253-54, Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture* (New Haven 1917) III, 160.

49. Pavia, San Michele. Mosaic pavement. Plate 30.

- J—(Seated figure. Preserved only in part in the drawing, it may have referred to warming or feasting.)
 F—Obliterated.
 Mr—Horn-blower.
 Ap—Flower-bearer.
 My—Mowing.
 Ju—Obliterated.
 Jl—Obliterated.
 Ag—(Cooper).
 S—(Vintage: gathering grapes).
 O—(Sowing ? Figure carrying basket into which he reaches with his right hand. Obliteration of the lower part of the scene prevents corroboration by furrows in the ground; as a second reference to vintage it would seem too indefinite, something like "carrying the grapes to the vat," and the evidence of the Italian cycles in general (cf. Comparative Table I) would support the interpretation as sowing.)

N—(Killing hogs.)

D—(Killing hogs, specifically dressing them? I.e. a man pulls an object, probably the carcass of the hog, up over a rod so as to dress it, as at Parma (48), Piacenza (51), Verona (53).)

The figure of the Year appears between April and May. Only the scenes for March, April, and May are visible today; the months (Ag–D) given in parentheses above are after a drawing “of the eighteenth century” published by Soriga.

E. Aus'm Weerth, *Der Mosaikboden in S. Gereon zu Köln* (Bonn 1873), pl. 88 (not accessible to me); Pietro Toesca, *La pittura e la miniatura nella Lombardia* (Milan 1912), 90, fig. 61 (Mr, Ap, My), with older bibliography; Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture* (New Haven 1917) III, 212–13, pl. 174, fig. 2; Brandt, 160–61, fig. 201; Renato Soriga, *Pavia e la Certosa* [*Collezione di monografie illustrate, Serie I—Italia Artistica* 88] (Bergamo n.d.), 40, ill. p. 45.

50. Piacenza, Biblioteca capitolare, Manuscript miscellany. 12th–13th century. Plate 31.

J—Cutting wood: man carrying axe and bundle of sticks on back.

F—Warming.

Mr—Pruning. (An indirect reference to digging is found in the spade and mattock leaning against a tree behind the figure.)

Ap—Flower-bearer.

My—Missing; part of the page was torn out for the sake of this illustration.

Ju—Mowing.

Jl—Reaping.

Ag—Threshing. (A rake and fork are drawn in the space behind the figure.)

S—Vintage: gathering grapes. The figure picks grapes into a basket and at the same time eats from a bunch held to his mouth.

O—Sowing.

N—Feeding hogs: a figure holding a stick in the gesture of knocking acorns from a tree, although the miniaturist has neglected to draw the tree and the hogs.

D—Missing; torn out for the sake of the illustration.

The calendar occurs at the beginning of a manuscript of various content written for the cathedral about 1140 (cf. Venturi). The signs of the zodiac accompany the months on the opposite page. Aquarius for January, etc. The illustrations are in color; the drawings published herewith are after photographs by the author.

Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana* III, 453–54, fig. 421 (Ju); Pietro Toesca, *La pittura e la miniatura nella Lombardia* (Milan 1912), 74–75; Prima Congresso Internazionale di Bibliografia e Bibliofilia, *Mostra bibliografica musicale, Bologna,*

Archiginnasio, Giugno 1929 (Bologna 1929), MS. V, p. 12, and plate facing (one of the several scenes of music-making).

51. Piacenza, San Savino. Mosaic pavement in crypt. Plate 32.

- | | |
|--|---|
| J—Effaced. | Jl—Reaping. |
| F—Pruning. | Ag—Cooper. |
| Mr—Horn-blower. | S—Vintage: treading grapes. |
| Ap—Flower-bearer. | O—Sowing. The figure is effaced but
the plowed ground remains clear. |
| My—Rider, with shield and spear
(rather than a bow) holding a
grazing horse. | N—Effaced. |
| Ju—Mowing. | D—Killing hogs, specifically dressing. |

Inscribed are the names of the months and references (published by Fowler, 170 and Porter) to the zodiacal signs which accompany the months, Capricorn for January, etc., taken from Ausonius' *Eclogues*.

Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana* III, 427, figs. 400-401; Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture* (New Haven 1917), I, 355, III, 271 ff., pl. 186, fig. 8; Brandt, fig. 202.

52. Pisa, Baptistery. Reliefs on jambs of portal. Plate 33.

- J—Offering. Apparently the antique scene; cf. No. 7.
- F—Fishing? The curved lines could represent furrowed soil, therefore cultivation as the labor, but the bare legs of the figure suggest water. Cf. remarks under No. 88.
- Mr—Thorn-extractor.
- Ap—Flower-bearer.
- My—Rider (bearing something in his hand, a standard (?) or stalk of a plant).
- Ju—Reaping.
- Jl—Threshing.
- Ag—Harvest of fruit (i.e. a tree, rather than a vine, is represented).
- S—Vintage: treading grapes (possibly filling casks also).
- O—Filling casks? This scene occurs in the same panel as the illustration for September, and is possibly intended for that month. However, there are only eleven panels and it seems more probable that the scenes for September and October occur in the same panel, possibly because both relate to vintage. Treading grapes and filling casks for September and October, although two scenes of vintage are thus produced, can be paralleled elsewhere (cf. No. 44).
- N—(Plowing?): man with two oxen.
- D—Killing hogs, specifically dressing.

The names of the months, in abbreviated Italian form, are inscribed in the early part of the year (J–Ag) only.

Roberto Papini, *Pisa* [Ministero dell'Istruzione, *Catalogo delle cose d'arte e di antichità d'Italia*, Ser. I, fas. 2] (Rome 1912), 217 ff., ill. p. 224 (J–Mr). Walther Biehl, *Toscanische Plastik des frühen und hohen Mittelalters* (Leipzig 1926), pl. 89–91; Brandt, figs. 206–7 (J, F, Ju, Jl). The drawings published herewith are from photographs by Professor Robb.

53. Verona, San Zeno. Reliefs on architrave of porch. Plate 34; page 57.

J—Warming.

F—Pruning.

Mr—Horn-blower.

Ap—Flower-bearer.

My—Rider, armed, with shield and spear.

Ju—Gathering fruit (a tree).

Jl—Reaping.

Ag—Cooper.

S—Vintage: gathering, transporting, and treading grapes are referred to in the one figure.

O—Feeding hogs.

N—Killing hogs (one already killed hangs at left).

D—Cutting wood: figure carrying bundle of sticks and axe (?).

Krautheimer-Hess, in *Marburger Jahrbuch* IV (1928), 269; Robb, in *Art Bulletin* XII (1930), 405, figs. 49–52 (all but S, O; some are faint). The photographs published herewith are by Professor Robb. For the church in general see Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture* (New Haven 1917), III, 517 ff.

54. Vienna, Hofbibliothek, MS. 1137. Plate 35.

J—Warming.

F—Fishing. (This scene may be inspired not entirely by a real occupation but by the zodiacal sign, Pisces, which is not otherwise represented.)

Mr—Thorn-extractor.

Ap—Flower-bearer.

My—Rider, with sword.

Ju—Reaping.

Jl—Threshing.

Ag—Gathering fruit (a tree, not a vine, being apparently represented).

S—Vintage: treading grapes.

O—Vintage: storing wine? I.e. a man with a wineskin over his shoulder.

N—Plowing.

D—Killing hogs, specifically dressing.

The signs of the zodiac, Aquarius for January, etc. (except Pisces) accompany the illustrations of the months which are in gouache.

Hermann Julius Hermann, *Die romanischen Handschriften des Abendlandes* [*Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich*, edited by F. Wickhoff, later by J. Schlosser, VIII, pt. 3, N. F., published by the *K. K. Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*] (Leipzig 1927), No. 66, pp. 90 ff., figs. 95-100.

TWELFTH CENTURY—FRANCE

55. Angers, Porch of the Prefecture. Reliefs from St. Aubin. Plate 36.

J—Lost.

F—Warming (8).

Mr—Pruning (4).

Ap—Lost, or unidentified.

My—Lost, or unidentified.

Ju—Mowing (14).

Jl—Lost, or unidentified.

Ag—Gathering fruit? The fruit may possibly be grapes, as a vine seems represented behind the figure which holds a bucket (6).

S—Vintage: treading grapes (10).

O—Vintage: filling casks (16). Cf. cycles at Bourges (62) and Sens (77).

N—Feeding hogs (20)? Only the profile of the back of the figure remains, but the posture suggests the action of beating acorns from a tree.

D—Killing hogs (2). This scene may have been intended for November.

The arch upon which these reliefs occur as now set up in the porch of the Prefecture consists of 22 voussoirs. It is of course possible that some of the voussoirs of the original arch have been lost, or that some from another arch have been included. Since there are no names or signs of the zodiac and most of the scenes are badly defaced, identification of the individual months must depend on the evidence of the scenes themselves, as they may be explained by their own iconography in relation to the general iconography of French cycles (cf. Comparative Table II).

The numbers given in parentheses above indicate the place of the voussoir in the present arrangement as follows. At the left end of the archivolt is an impost block, carved with an ogre-like figure, badly worn, which this arch has in common with another arch to the left; upon it rests a voussoir, carved with a decorative motif, which is here given the number one, and the other voussoirs are numbered in order around to the decorative motif, resting on the impost block at the right, which is

thus No. 22. Voussoirs Nos. 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17 (fragment), 19 (?), 21, and 22 are carved with a purely decorative leaf-motif. (Examination *in situ* shows that No. 21 is not a defaced scene of feasting but one of the decorative motifs, as in No. 15.) If the original cycle used this alternation of decorative motif with labor of the month, it would seem that one or two of the voussoirs have been lost or that the original cycle comprised only eleven months.

Cf. Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (Boston 1923), 341; his figure 1069 shows voussoirs Nos. 7-15. For published photographs cf. *Archives Photographiques* Nos. 5484, 82769 (left half), 3642. The drawings published herewith are from photographs by the author.

56. Argenton-le-Château, St. Gilles. Reliefs on archivolt of portal. Plate 37; page 70.

J—(Feasting.) At present effaced; cf. Fenioux (67).

F—Warming. The torso of the seated figure remains.

Mr—(Pruning.) Indistinct; remains of vines can be seen.

Ap—Flower-bearer (?): a figure amid foliage.

My—Rider. Remains of horse's feet may be seen.

Ju—Mowing.

Jl—(Reaping.) Badly mutilated; bound sheaf (?) stands at right.

Ag—Threshing. (Some additional labor may possibly be referred to at the right; cf. discussion in text.)

S—Vintage: treading grapes. The vat remains.

O—(Feeding hogs.) At present effaced, but note attachment for tree, and cf. Civray (65) and Aulnay (58).

N—Feeding animals (oxen) at manger.

D—Feasting.

The labors alternate with the signs of the zodiac in the archivolt, Aquarius for January, etc., the names of both being inscribed in the border.

Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (Boston 1923), pls. 987 (Aries, parts of Ap, My), 988 (Ag, S); photograph, *Monuments Historiques*, No. 165. The drawings published herewith are from photographs by the author.

57. Aubeterre, St. Jacques. Frieze in north lunette of façade. Plate 38; page 74.

J—Feasting: man at table cutting round loaf with knife; the "servant" is probably for Aquarius.

Mr—Chopping wood?

Ap—Flower-bearer.

My—Rider.

Ju—(Lacking.)

Jl—(Lacking.)
 Ag—(Lacking.)
 S—(Lacking.)
 O—(Lacking.)
 N—(Lacking.)

D—Feasting (and, indirectly, killing hogs): man sits at table with head of hog before him. (This scene may possibly be for November.)

The relationship of the signs of the zodiac to the labors is not clear and seems to have been confused by the designer of the scenes. The five labors given above for the early part of the year must be correct, to judge by the evidence of other cycles. The scene of feasting with the hog's head must then be for December. To the right appears the sign Sagittarius, and one may argue from its proximity and the fact that it is carved upon the same block of stone as the scene for December (neither reason being entirely conclusive) that it occurs here for December and that the signs are related to the months, Capricorn for January, etc. The scenes at the left of the frieze would seem to corroborate this. Against this is the fact that the object at the right of February appears to have been a table, not Aquarius, and that the latter sign is apparently found in the figure to the right of January; it has been interpreted as a servant, but the figure appears nude and might thus suggest Aquarius rather than a servant (cf. *Autun*, No. 59). However, if we assume that Aquarius with January sets the relationship of signs to months then we find the sign to the right of the months in some cases, to the left in others. Thus, neither explanation is satisfactory; it seems that the most likely hypothesis is that the signs occurred Capricorn for January, etc., but that Aquarius was misplaced from his proper position at the right of February to the present position at the right of January. The key to the problem might be furnished by the object to the right of February had it not been effaced. Apparently the other six scenes were never executed.

Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (Boston 1923), 332, pls. 1098-99; photographs, *Archives Photographiques* Nos. 223 (D is in shadow), 7453 (entire façade).

58. Aulnay, St. Pierre. Reliefs on archivolt of portal. Plate 39; page 69.

J—Feasting (?): a seated man may be distinguished.
 F—Warming? Partially destroyed.
 Mr—Pruning? Restored (?) and misplaced.
 Ap—Effaced.
 My—Effaced.
 Ju—Mowing: two figures with swathes of cut grass between them.
 Jl—Reaping. (Only the wheat remains. Partly restored ?)
 Ag—Threshing (partly restored ?).
 S—Vintage: treading grapes (possibly also a reference to gathering grapes).

O—Feeding hogs.

N—Feeding animals (oxen) at manger.

D—Feasting.

Parts of some of the scenes seem to have been recarved; cf. Lasteyrie, in *Gazette archéologique* XI (1886), 288–89. The signs of the zodiac accompanied the labors, Aquarius for January, etc.; some are now lost or displaced.

André Michel, *Histoire de l'art chrétien* I, pt. 2, 650–51, fig. 363 (Ju–D); Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (Boston 1923), pl. 984; photographs, *Archives Photographiques* Nos. 56218 (left end of archivolt hidden), 3657 (My–D, in larger scale).

59. Autun, Cathedral St. Lazare. Reliefs on archivolt of portal. Plate 40; page 75.

J—Feasting: figure seated before fire cutting round loaf with knife.

F—Warming.

Mr—Pruning.

Ap—Shepherd? A man and two small animals like sheep or dogs.

My—Rider, leading his horse; a shield and spear stand nearby.

Ju—Gathering fruit: figure picking fruit from tree and holding hand to mouth.
(This occurs in the medallion to the right of center, the latter point being occupied by Cancer.)

Jl—Mowing, i.e. a man sharpening a scythe.

Ag—Threshing.

S—Vintage: treading grapes. A minor reference to gathering grapes also: while treading, the figure plucks a bunch from the vine at his right.

O—Feeding hogs.

N—Gathering Wood? I.e. a man carrying a bundle of sticks over his shoulder.

D—Killing hogs: a man with axe upraised over two hogs.

The labors are framed in medallions, alternating with others in which are portrayed the signs of the zodiac, Aquarius for January, etc. January is in the fifth medallion from the left end of the archivolt. Medallion No. 15 has a figure, of indeterminate significance, interpolated into the procession of the months; possibly it represented the Year. The evidence of other cycles indicates that the labor of mowing may be displaced in the order of the voussoir, as it occurs invariably for June in the Romance countries.

Archives Photographiques Nos. 80425 (general view), 80456 (J–Mr, in larger detail), 80457 (Ag–D, in larger detail).

60. Avallon, St. Lazare. Reliefs on archivolt of portal.

The labors and signs of the zodiac appear in medallions set side by side in the outer archivolt. Most of the scenes are badly defaced and almost unidentifiable,

and they occur at present in no logical order. Beginning at the right end of the archivolt and counting from right to left, medallions Nos. 8-18 contain the signs of the zodiac in order from Pisces to Capricorn (although No. 17 may be merely a centaur and No. 7 the real Sagittarius, and medallion No. 2 may be Aquarius). No. 1 may be a figure blowing a horn and with flame-like hair, although in the present condition of the reliefs it is difficult to be sure of details. Other scenes are: warming (19), gathering wood (20), flower-bearer? (21), killing hogs (?), where only the hog (?), lying on his back, remains (22), pruning? (25), reaping (26), and digging (or pruning, 30).

Brandt, 196; photographs, *Archives Photographiques* Nos. 16455 (general view), 51027 (detail of first eight medallions at the left), 50128 (detail of eight medallions at the top), 77177 (the reaping, and a figure against a decorative device, No. 27), 50130 (detail of the scene of digging, No. 30).

61. Bordeaux, Ste. Croix. Reliefs on archivolt of portal. Plate 41; page 72.

J—Feasting: figure seated at table, Capricorn above. (Possibly the original scene.)

F—Lost.

Mr—a) Pruning; Pisces above. (This was possibly the original scene for March; it is at present the second scene in the archivolt, following immediately after the scene of feasting. Cf. the discussion in the text.)

b) Pruning; Aries above. (A second scene of pruning, probably imitated from the scene at Cognac (66), the scene (a) above being doubtless intended by the restorers to illustrate February.)

Ap—Flower-bearer? A seated man with objects in his hands. (After Cognac?)

My—Omitted in the restoration. It may never have been executed in the original or, if so, was lost. (Note: in the cycle at Cognac (66), which I believe the restorers were following, the scene is almost entirely effaced; cf. the discussion in the text.)

Ju—Mowing. This scene, in the position which should be occupied by May, is followed by Gemini and Cancer with no scene between them.

Jl—Reaping (after Cognac).

Ag—Threshing (after Cognac).

S—Vintage: treading grapes (after Cognac).

O—Feeding hogs: a figure beating the trees, but the hogs are not visible. (After Cognac.)

N—"Man, seated (?), with object in hand." This should be feeding animals at a manger, and is a nineteenth-century misunderstanding or incomplete imitation of the scene at Cognac (66); the animal has been omitted and the manger displaced by the sign of the succeeding month, Capricorn, the restorer having overlooked or forgotten the animal, which occurs above Capricorn at Cognac.

D—Feasting (after Cognac).

For the doorway before the final restoration see the engraving published by Féret, Jullian's heliogravure "after a photograph of 1860," and the photograph of the *Archives Photographiques* No. 12366. Brutails sums up the earlier restorations of Durand. Information as to the activities of Abadie and Pascal in the final restoration is found in a *dossier* in the municipal archives of Bordeaux, labeled, "Restauration de la façade de Ste. Croix entreprise par Michel Pascal, statuaire, 1864-65;" according to item 8, on *feuille de métré* No. 6, his bill for the execution of the labors was 1800 francs. The dossier contains also a report of a committee on the proposed restoration, with estimates of expense, "Extrait du registre des délibérations du conseil municipal de la ville de Bordeaux, séance du 29 décembre 1862." See the discussion in the text.

Edouard Féret, *Essai sur la ville de Bordeaux et ses monuments* (Bordeaux 1892), 50; Durand, "Rapport sur les réparations exécutées à l'église Ste. Croix en 1842 et 1843," in the *Actes de l'académie de Bordeaux* 1844 (not consulted); Camille Louis Jullian, *Histoire de Bordeaux* (Bordeaux 1895), 123, pl. 5; A. Chauliac, *Histoire de l'abbaye Ste. Croix de Bordeaux* [*Archives de la France monastique*, IX] (Paris 1910), especially p. 317; Jean Auguste Brutails, *Les vieilles églises de la Gironde* (Bordeaux 1912), 8 ff., pl. 2.

62. Bourges, St. Ursin. Relief on tympanum of portal, by Giraldus. Plate 42; page 77.

J—Feasting: figure seated before kettle on fire, holding round loaf (?).

F—Warming.

Mr—Pruning.

Ap—Monk (?), or cleric (?), possibly a reference to a feast day?

My—Shepherd? I.e. a man with a crook (?), wearing curious "chaps" or large leggings (possibly these indicate a labor like weeding, the legs being protected thus against thorns or thistles).

Ju—Mowing, i.e. a man whetting a scythe.

Jl—Reaping.

Ag—Threshing.

S—Vintage: gathering grapes (and placing them in the vat).

O—Vintage: filling casks.

N—Killing hogs.

D—Feasting.

The figures are disposed in a frieze under framing arches, the first month at the left being February. The names are inscribed under the separate months.

Brandt, 161, 188-91, fig. 239; Emile Mâle, *L'art religieux du XII^e siècle en France* (3rd edition, Paris 1928), 338-39, fig. 196; Marcel Aubert, *L'art français à l'époque romane* (Paris 1929), 9, pl. 16; photograph, *Archives Photographiques* No. 54081 (after the cast in the Trocadéro). The drawings published herewith are after photographs by the author of the cast in the Trocadéro.

63. Castelveuil, Nôtre Dame. Reliefs on archivolt of portal.

J—Feasting?

F—Warming. (The fire appears between the feet of the figure.)

Mr—Pruning.

Ap—Flower-bearer: a figure, crowned, seated amid flowering plants.

My—(Rider.) Effaced, but this interpretation is indicated by slight remains; the head projects above, the leg of the horse is seen to the right, and part of the sickle is visible at the left of the head; cf. Argenton-Château (56).

Ju—Mowing.

Jl—Indistinct, apparently a single figure.

Ag—Threshing? Very much effaced; a grooved pillar (?) at the left (cf. the cycle of Saintonge-Poitou, pp. 66 ff.).

S—Vintage: treading grapes.

O—(Unidentified.) A figure with object (shield?) between legs (and wearing a helmet?). Koseleff, 56, questionably interprets as a figure "astride an animal."

N—Indistinct; a figure, possibly seated, possibly killing a hog.

D—Feasting: a seated man holding objects on lap or table (?).

Brutails reports a thorn-extractor at the top of the archivolt which I do not find in the published photograph. The zodiacal signs alternate with the labors, although they are defaced at times and apparently omitted at others. The appearance of Aries above March and Taurus above April would indicate that they ran Aquarius for January, etc.; this order does not seem to be maintained, however, on the other side of the archivolt, although it is hard to be certain in the present condition of the reliefs; apparently no sign occurs with October, and Scorpio appears above November and Sagittarius above December.

Jean Auguste Brutails, *Les vieilles églises de la Gironde* (Bordeaux 1912), 46, with illustration. Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (Boston 1923) pls. 926 (part of S, O), 928 (D).

64. Chartres, Cathedral. Reliefs on archivolt of "Royal Portal."

J—Feasting (Janus-figure).

F—Warming.

Mr—Pruning.

Ap—Flower-bearer.

- My—Rider, with falcon.
 Ju—Mowing.
 Jl—Reaping.
 Ag—Reaping: binding sheaves. Threshing. The reference to the latter is made indirectly by the flail which hangs behind.
- D—Feasting.
 S—Vintage: treading grapes. One man treads, another places the grapes in the vat.
 O—Feeding hogs.
 N—Killing hogs.

Étienne Houvet, *Cathédral de Chartres* (Chartres 1919-26), III: *Portail Royal*, pl. 33-38 (all except Oct.); Brandt, 197 ff., figs. 246-50; photograph, *Archives Photographiques* No. 49420.

65. Civray, St. Nicholas. Reliefs on archivolt of portal. Plate 43; page 68.

- J—Feasting. Only a seated man, crowned, may be made out today, but it was doubtless feasting; cf. the cycle of Saintonge-Poitou, pp. 66 ff.
 F—Warming.
 Mr—Pruning.
 Ap—Flower-bearer.
 My—Rider (mostly destroyed).
- Ju—Mowing. Part of the scythe remains.
 Jl—Reaping.
 Ag—Threshing.
 S—Vintage: treading grapes.
 O—Feeding hogs.
 N—Feeding animals (oxen) at manger.
 D—Feasting.

Brandt, 191, fig. 240; photograph, *Archives Photographiques* No. 10248. The signs of the zodiac, Aquarius for January, etc., are included above each labor.

66. Cognac, St. Léger. Reliefs on archivolt of portal. Plate 44; page 69.

- J—(Feasting.) A seated man may be made out; that it was originally feasting is shown by other examples in Saintonge-Poitou (see pp. 66 ff.), especially Fenioux (67).
 F—Warming.
 Mr—Pruning.
 Ap—Flower-bearer, seated, as usual in this region.
 My—(Rider.) Effaced, but certainly the rider; note the projection of the head into the border as at Fenioux (67) and Argenton-Château (56).
 Ju—Mowing.
 Jl—Reaping.
 Ag—Threshing.
 S—Vintage: treading grapes. Possibly gathering grapes is also alluded to, if the figure carried a basket.

O—Feeding hogs.

N—Feeding animals at manger. Possibly the animal represented here is a hog, instead of the more usual ox.

D—Feasting (before fire ?).

Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (Boston 1923), 339, pl. 1096 (Ju-S); Georg Kowalczyk, *Decorative Sculpture* (New York 1927), pl. 183 (O-D, in large scale) (cf. Georg Kowalczyk, *Dekorative Skulptur*, (Berlin 1910), not accessible to me); photographs, *Archives Photographiques* Nos. 849 (general view of the doorway), 3696 (Jl-D, in larger scale).

67. Fenioux, Church. Reliefs on archivolt of portal. Plate 45; page 66.

J—Feasting: a seated figure holding knife (?) and loaf (?).

F—Warming.

Mr—Pruning.

Ap—Flower-bearer (seated).

My—Rider, with sickle (?) in hand.

Ju—Mowing.

Jl—Reaping.

Ag—Threshing? Badly mutilated; the cycle of this region requires this labor.

S—Vintage: treading grapes.

O—(Feeding hogs ?) Effaced at present; cf. text.

N—Feeding animals (oxen) at manger.

D—Feasting.

Photograph, *Archives Photographiques* No. 3791; Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (Boston 1923), pl. 997, for the entire portal.

68. Jerusalem, Convent of Ste. Marie-la-Grande. Reliefs on archivolt of portal.

J—Effaced.

F—Pruning? Vines seem indicated, although the tool resembles a hatchet.

Mr—Indistinct; lower part of a standing figure only.

Ap—Indistinct; seated figure.

My—Indistinct; kneeling figure.

Ju—Mowing?

Jl—Reaping. Figure was apparently nude, and a sheaf, or stalks, are indicated.

Ag—Threshing.

S—Vintage: gathering grapes? Figure standing beside tree (?) with basket.

O—Vintage: filling casks (?)?

N—Unidentified: woman with hands under cloak.

D—Effaced.

Charles, Marquis de Vogüé, *Les églises de la Terre-Sainte* (Paris 1860), 255 ff., pls. 17-18.

69. Laval, St. Martin. Mural paintings. 12th-13th century.

J—Modern: see Lucureux.

F—Warming.

Mr—Pruning.

Ap—Of doubtful meaning; Lucureux interprets as sowing, but the frontal, passive pose is against that, as also the evidence of other French cycles. The pose would suggest the flower-bearer, the bird at the left perhaps appearing as a sign of spring. (If the object at the right is a basket of grain a reference to feeding fowls may be intended.)

My—Rider, with sickle in hand.

Ju—Mowing.

Jl—Reaping.

Ag—Threshing.

S—Vintage: gathering grapes.

O—Feeding hogs? Or animal husbandry of some kind. Lucureux gives "vintage," but the figure, in capuchon and holding a staff, suggests rather a herdsman and probably the figure which beats acorns from trees for the hogs.

N—Cutting wood.

D—Killing hogs.

Lucureux, in *Revue de l'art chrétien*, 5th ser., LX (1910), 230 ff., fig. 8 (Mr-O).

70. Melle, St. Hilaire. Reliefs on archivolt of portal.

Only the scene for November (?), the feeding animals of the cycle of Saintonge-Poitou, can be identified with certainty.

The portal has been reconstructed and the vousoirs put back in place without order. The vices and virtues were represented, and the signs of the zodiac also occurred, to judge by the Sagittarius (?) of the second scene from the left in the outer archivolt and others in the middle archivolt. The labors are badly weathered and defaced; scenes of reaping, treading grapes, etc., may be guessed at, but in the present state of the reliefs, no more. The scene of feeding animals occurs in the first scene at the left of the outer archivolt.

Archives Photographiques No. 6518 shows the doorway and reliefs, although it is incorrectly labelled "St. Pierre." At the latter church the signs of the zodiac but not the labors are found; cf. the *Procès-verbaux* in *Bulletin monumental* VI (1840), 319 (note that the early statement that the labors occur is corrected later), and the report on St. Pierre by Lefèvre-Pontalis in *Congrès archéologique* 1912, pt. 1, 85-86.

When the photograph noted above was taken the restoration of the doorway had not been completed; since then capitals have been carved, as well as palmettes, on the inner archivolt. The photograph published by Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (Boston 1923), pl. 1011, shows most of the reliefs, although in shadow.

71. Paris, Cluny Museum. Mosaic fragment from St. Denis.

Only the month of October, illustrated with filling casks, remains.

Le Sénécal, 68, with reference to *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie royale de l'architecture* I, 190, for the report of a visit of July 29, 1670 (not accessible to me).

72. St. Denis, Abbey church. Reliefs on jambs of portal. Plate 46.

J—End and beginning of the year: a figure changing the year (?) from one small building or closet to another.

F—Warming.

Mr—Pruning.

Ap—Flower-bearer.

My—Rider? Or pasturing horses? A man stands behind a horse which grazes, possibly the rider, dismounted, or perhaps a herdsman, as in the earlier No. 31.

Ju—Mowing.

Jl—Reaping.

Ag—Threshing.

S—Vintage: filling casks.

O—Feeding hogs.

N—Killing hogs, specifically, dressing.

D—Feasting.

Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (Boston 1923), pls. 1443-44 (J-My, O-D); Brandt, 202, fig. 253 (N, D); *Archives Photographiques* No. 8362 (general view, rather small in scale). There are restorations in the façade, but Albert Marignan, *La décoration monumentale des églises de la France septentrionale du XII^e au XIII^e siècle* (Paris 1911), 7, and Marcel Aubert, *French Sculpture at the Beginning of the Gothic Period* (Florence 1929), 4 cite notations made at the time of the restorations and now kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale which indicate that the reliefs framing the doors are original. The drawings published herewith are after photographs of the author.

73. St. Evroult-de-Montfort (Orne), Church. Baptismal font of lead. 12th-13th century. Plate 47.

J—Feasting: figure behind table, holding cup.

F—Warming.
Mr—Pruning.

- | | |
|--|---|
| Ap—Flower-bearer. | O—Feeding hogs (or possibly gathering fruit?): a figure as if beating acorns from trees, although the hogs do not appear. |
| My—Rider, with falcon. | N—Herdsman, with animals (hogs?). |
| Ju—Mowing. | D—Killing hogs. |
| Jl—Weeding? A figure cutting plant with a long-handled sickle (?). | |
| Ag—Reaping. | |
| S—Threshing. | |

The labors occur in low relief around the circumference of the font, accompanied by the signs of the zodiac, Aquarius for January, etc., the names of both being inscribed. The section containing July and August occurs four times to fill out the circumference.

Bouet, in *Bulletin monumental* XVIII (1852), 423 ff., with drawing of J-F, Jl-Ag.; Robert Charles, Comte de Lasteyrie du Saillant, *L'architecture religieuse en France à l'époque romane* (2nd ed., Paris 1929), 708, fig. 717 (Mr-O). The drawings published herewith are after photographs by the author.

74. St. Jouin-de-Marnes, Church. Reliefs on archivolt of portal.

- | | |
|---|---|
| J—End and beginning of the year?
I.e. a figure seated between two doors. | Jl—Effaced. |
| F—Warming? | Ag—Effaced. |
| Mr—Pruning? | S—Effaced. |
| Ap—Effaced. | O—Filling casks? |
| My—Effaced. | N—Killing hogs, apparently by sticking, with a knife (?). |
| Ju—Effaced. | D—Feasting. |

Maillard, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* LVI (1924), 1st semester, 137 ff.; *Archives Photographiques* No. 44397.

75. St. Pierre-le-Pottier (La Mayenne), Church. Mural painting on vault.

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| J—Indistinct. | Jl—Reaping, with inscription JULIUS. |
| F—Indistinct. | Ag—Indistinct. |
| Mr—(Pruning): a vine remains, and inscription MARTIUS. | S—Indistinct. |
| Ap—Indistinct. | O—Indistinct. |
| My—Rider, with horse and servant (?). | N—Indistinct. |
| Ju—Indistinct. | D—Indistinct. |

Lucureux, in *Revue de l'art chrétien*, 5th series, LX (1910), 224 ff.

76. Senlis, Cathedral. Reliefs on pedestals of portal. Plate 48.

J—Feasting: figure at table with flask and loaf (?).

F—Warming.

Mr—Digging the soil.

Ap—Flower-bearer.

My—Rider, with falcon, leading horse from archway.

Ju—Mowing.

Jl—Reaping.

Ag—Threshing.

S—Vintage: gathering grapes.

O—Storing the harvest? A figure between two aediculae with head and shoulders in the one at the left.

N—Killing hogs.

D—(Feasting.) An indirect reference through the occupation of baking, i.e. a figure stooping to an oven. That the labor is baking may be deduced from the similarities (note the posture and the tower-like oven) found in one of the scenes illustrating the life of St. Eusice in the upper frieze of the apse at Selles-sur-Cher; there the scene is identified by the miraculous incident concerned with the baking of bread which is recorded in the life of the saint. The scene is illustrated by Aubert, in *Bulletin monumental* LXXVII (1913), facing p. 398; also by Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (Boston 1923), pl. 1082.

Marcel Aubert, *Cathédral de Senlis* (Senlis 1910), 100 (with ill. of J, F, Jl, O); Marcel Aubert, *Senlis [Petites monographies des grands edifices de la France]* (Paris, n.d.), 73 ff. (with ill. of J, F), In the latter work the last six months are reversed by twos, although the author remarks (p. 75, n. 1), "Il faut commencer par regarder la face tournée vers l'entrée, puis l'autre face orientée à l'ouest." The months as listed above follow that principle, which must be the correct one. Koseleff, 65, incorrectly places killing hogs in December.

77. Sens, St. Etienne. Reliefs on pedestals of portal.

J—Feasting: seated figure with left hand at mouth.

F—Warming.

Mr—Pruning.

Ap—Flower-bearer? A figure, apparently female, with defaced object (basket?) in her right hand.

My—Rider (riding toward the spectator).

Ju—Mowing.

Jl—Reaping. Bound sheaves stand at the top of the relief.

Ag—Threshing.

S—Vintage: gathering grapes. A basket on the ground at right.

O—Vintage: filling casks.

N—Feeding hogs.

D—Killing hogs.

January, March, May, July, and September occur on the north sides of the pedestals, the other months on the west sides.

Eugène Chartraire, *La Cathédral de Sens* [*Petites monographies des grands édifices de la France*] (Paris 1921), 70-71.

78. Souvigny, Church. Reliefs on a pillar. Plate 49.

J—Missing.

F—Missing.

Mr—Missing.

Ap—Missing.

My—Missing.

Ju—Missing.

Jl—Missing.

Ag—Threshing.

S—Vintage: treading grapes.

O—Feeding hogs.

N—Feeding animals (oxen) at manger.

D—Feasting: figure seated before fire at which he warms his right hand; cup in left hand; fish (?) and bread (?) on table.

The pillar is octagonal, having reliefs with figures on four of the sides: the labors on one, the signs of the zodiac on another, and legendary creatures of the east on the other two. The relative position of signs and months indicates that the signs ran Aquarius for January, etc.

De Caumont, in *Bulletin monumental* XXI (1855), 375 ff., with illustrations (I do not find here the drawings of the earlier state of the pillar referred to by Mâle); Mâle, in *Revue de Paris* XXVIII (June 1, 1921), 449 ff.; Emile Mâle, *L'art religieux du XII^e siècle en France* (3rd ed., Paris 1928), 323-25; Brandt, fig. 241; George Kowalczyk, *Decorative Sculpture* (New York 1927), pl. 192 (cf. Georg Kowalczyk, *Dekorative Skulptur* (Berlin 1910), not accessible to me); *Archives Photographiques* Nos. 29739 (general view), 56643 and 56644 for the labors, 56645 and 56646 for the signs.

79. Tournai, Cathedral. Defaced reliefs.

One labor, probably September, remains, i.e. a figure bending to pluck with his right hand a bunch of grapes hanging from a vine; his left hand, in front of his body, holds a basket (?) or sack (?). A fragment of the sign Aries also remains.

Goldschmidt, in Paul Clemen, (ed.) *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler* (Munich 1923), 69, fig. 49.

80. Vermenton, Church. Reliefs on archivolt of portal.

J—Feasting: a figure seated before a fire holds cup and loaf to mouth.

F—Warming: a figure seated before a fireplace.

Mr—Pruning? Indistinct; apparently a figure amid vines.

Ap—Flower-bearer, with inscription *APRILIS*.

My—Rider.

Ju—Indistinct; two figures at some work.

Jl—Indistinct; two figures at some work.

Ag—Reaping.

S—Vintage? Indistinct; a clump of vines remains and perhaps a figure was among them.

O—Feeding hogs? Possibly the object indicated in the lower right hand corner of the scene is a hog.

N—Killing hogs.

D—Gathering wood.

The scenes begin with April at the left, and its inscription leaves no doubt that they were labors; they are badly worn, but the fact that there are exactly twelve makes their interpretation more certain than it would be otherwise. The above indications are from inspection *in situ*.

Gabriel Fleury, *Etudes sur les portails imagés du XII^e siècle* (Mamers 1904), 136, fig. 29 (too small); Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (Boston 1923), pls. 1498-99 (too small); photograph of the *Monuments Historiques* No. 7038.

81. Vézelay, Ste. Madeleine. Reliefs on archivolt of portal. Plate 50.

J—Feasting: figure with round loaf and knife.

F—Warming. A second figure, left side nude and right side clothed, stands nearby; Brandt suggests blood-letting.

Mr—Pruning. (Brandt places pruning in February, but this cannot be the case.)

Ap—Shepherd? A figure accompanied by goats (?).

My—Unexplained: a warrior, and a nude figure dancing. Brandt suggests Mars and Venus.

Ju—Mowing.

Jl—Reaping.

Ag—Threshing. A second figure pours the grain into a bin.

S—Vintage: gathering grapes.

O—Killing hogs.

N—Unexplained. A figure carrying another on its shoulders. Koseleff, 60-61, queries whether it is the Old Year carrying the New, and cites a miniature of the late thirteenth century in the Laurentian Library (Plut. XXV, cod. 3, published by d'Ancona, pl. 39) which depicts the Year standing on the shoulders of Winter and bearing the other seasons, each of which carries its three months, personified as heads. With it as analogy one might read November carrying Winter at Vézelay, but the representation is not sufficiently detailed to make this more than a guess.

D—Feasting? I.e. a seated figure. (An inscription around the border of the medallion reads, *Omnibus in membris designat imago Decembris.*)

Archives Photographiques No. 80488; Brandt, 195, fig. 244.

TWELFTH CENTURY—SPAIN

82. Gerona, Cathedral. Textile. Pls. 51, 51a; page 79.

1st cycle.	2nd cycle.
J—Lost.	Warming.
F—Catching birds.	Digging the soil.
Mr—Personification, carrying a snake.	Pruning.
Ap—Plowing.	Lost.
My—Husbandman (and / or flower-bearer) watching flocks and new vegetation.	Lost.
Ju—Fishing?	Lost.
Jl—Lost?	Threshing?
Ag—Threshing.	Shepherd (?) or Husbandman (?).
S—Vintage: gathering grapes.	Vintage: gathering grapes.
O—Lost.	Lost.
N—Lost.	Lost.
D—Lost.	Lost.

It is difficult to be certain about these scenes, but there seem clearly to be parts of two cycles of labors in the textile. See, on these points, the discussion in the text.

José Puig y Cadafalch *et al.*, *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya* II (Barcelona 1911), 571, fig. 505; *Burlington Magazine Monograph: Spanish Art* (1926), art. "Textiles," 67–68, pl. 10; José Gudiol y Cunnill, *Els Primitius* (Barcelona 1929) II, 476 ff., fig. 221; Juan Contreras y Lopez de Ayala, Marques de Lozoya, *Historia dell'arte hispánico* I (Barcelona 1931), pl. 49 (in color). Photograph by Mas, No. 2229-C.

83. León, S. Isidore, Panteon de los Reyes. Painting on arch.

J—End and beginning of the Year: a Janus-figure between two aediculae, one with open, the other with closed doors.

F—Warming.

Mr—Pruning.

Ap—Flower-bearer.

My—Rider leading his horse.

Ju—Reaping? Apparently the implement is a sickle, not a scythe.

Jl—Reaping.

Ag—Threshing.

S—Vintage: gathering grapes.

- O—Feeding hogs: a man picks (rather than beats) acorns from a tree; two hogs stand below.
 N—Killing hogs.
 D—Feasting (and warming): a figure seated at table holds loaf in left hand and stretches foot toward fire.

The illustrations are painted in medallions inside which the names of the months are inscribed.

Giovanni Teresio Rivoira, *Architectura musulmana* (Milan 1914), fig. 302 (N, D); Chandler Rathfon Post, *History of Spanish Painting I* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1930), 183; there is an engraving in *Museo espagnolo de antiquedades: Arte cristiano* (Madrid, 1872-80), not accessible to me. Photographs by Mas, Nos. 32328 (N, D), 32332 (J-Jl).

84. Ripoll, Sta. Maria. Reliefs on jambs of portal. Plate 52; page 84.

- J—Cutting wood? Or digging the soil? Cf. text.
 F—Warming.
 Mr—Pruning (partly effaced).
 Ap—Husbandman and/or shepherd: a man watching an animal and growing grass or grain.
 My—Gathering fruit.
 Ju—Reaping.
 Jl—Threshing (?): an indirect reference through illustration of storing the grain?
 Ag—Cooper. A second man with a spear stands nearby.
 S—Vintage: gathering grapes? I.e. two figures, one apparently picking grapes from a vine.
 O—Feeding hogs.
 N—Killing hogs.
 D—Feasting (and warming).

Others, particularly Brandt, have ordered the scenes differently, but comparison with other mediaeval representations, and the placing of the scenes here, indicate that the above is correct. Gomis's observations as to Spanish folk-lore are illuminating, although such material should always be subjected to the evidence of the pictorial tradition. Porter has discussed the evidences of Italian influence in the style; the iconography also indicates a relationship with Italy in the appearance of the Italian labor of the cooper.

José Puig y Cadafalch *et al.*, *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya III* (Barcelona 1918), 832-34, figs. 1205-6; Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (Boston 1923), 255, pls. 560 (general view), 580-83 (Jl-D al-

though labeled differently); Sanoner, in *Bulletin monumental* LXXXII (1923), 397; Cels Gomis, *Meteorologia y agricultura populares* [in the collection *Folk-lore*] (Barcelona 1888), not accessible to me; Brandt, 188.

85. Roda de Isabena, Cathedral. Mural painting. 12th–13th century. Plate 53; cf. pp. 79 ff.

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| J—Feasting (and warming?). A large pitcher represents Aquarius. | Jl—Reaping. |
| F—Warming. Pisces. | Ag—Threshing. |
| Mr—Pruning. Aries. | S—Vintage: gathering grapes. |
| Ap—Flower-bearer. | O—Vintage: filling casks. |
| My—Effaced. | N—Feeding hogs. |
| Ju—Mowing. | D—Effaced. |

Cook, in *Art Bulletin* XI (1929), 328, fig. 3 (J–Ap); Chandler Rathfon Post, *History of Spanish Painting I* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1930), 171 (only the Christ, in the border around which the labors occur, is shown in fig. 36); photographs by Mas, Nos. 1348, 1351 (all months).

86. Tarragona, Cathedral, Cloister. Reliefs on abacus of capital. 12th–13th century. Page 86.

- J—Feasting: four figures around a table.
 F—Warming.
 Mr—Pruning.
 Ap—Knight's vow? One figure kneels before another who holds a *fleur-de-lys*-like scepter.
 My—Rider.
 Ju—Reaping: two men, wearing sun-hats, one reaping, one as if pouring a drink. A helper carries a sheaf.
 Jl—Threshing.
 Ag—A figure stretched upon the ground, possibly a siesta-like reference to heat and repose.
 S—Vintage.
 O—Vintage: filling casks.
 N—Plowing and sowing: a man following an ox-team and plow carries the seed-grain in a fold of his mantle.
 D—Killing hogs; one figure with upraised axe, the other holding a pan to catch the blood.

The scenes run around the capital in order from left to right, four scenes upon the broad sides, two upon the narrow.

José Puig y Cadafalch, *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya* III (Barcelona 1918), 491 ff., figs. 683, 685 (small); photographs by Mas, Nos. 44220-C (J, F), 3505-C (Mr, Ap), 44172-C (My, Ju), 44225-C (N, D).

TWELFTH CENTURY—GERMANY

87. London, British Museum. MS. Lansdowne 381. Page 88.

- | | |
|---|--|
| J—Feasting (and warming, since a fire seems indicated). | My—Training or grafting vines (rather than flower-bearer)? |
| F—Cutting wood: a figure lops limbs from a tree with axe (in right hand). | Ju—Plowing. |
| Mr—Pruning. | Jl—Mowing. |
| Ap—Digging the soil. I.e. a man with a mattock. | Ag—Reaping. |
| | S—Vintage: pressing grapes? |
| | O—Sowing. |
| | N—Threshing. |
| | D—Killing hogs. |

The signs of the zodiac, Aquarius for January, etc., accompany the labors under another arch to the left.

British Museum, *Reproductions from Illuminated Manuscripts*, Series I, (3rd ed., London 1923), 13 (pl. 40 illustrates the Crucifixion, but none of the labors is illustrated).

88. Strasbourg, Library of the Episcopal Seminary. MS. of Gutta and Sintram of Marbach. Plate 54.

- J—Feasting? I.e. a man with dish and staff.
- F—Missing.
- Mr—Digging the soil: a man with hoe.
- Ap—Flower-bearer.
- My—Music-making. In right arch, a woman with a peacock.
- Ju—Mowing: indirect reference, in the right arch, by depiction of a man, mounted, carrying a bundle of hay upon his horse. In the left arch is a man with a bowl to his lips; it may represent the drinking of a potion. Even if it is a reference to drinking water, it may very well be thought of as a healthful action, rather than as the simple quenching of thirst of the Byzantine cycles. Indeed, in the advice to the prudent contained in the hygienic rules inscribed upon the scroll held by the central figure is the admonition, "In the month of June drink a half-litre of cold water."
- Jl—Reaping.
- Ag—Reaping: an indirect reference in the man carrying two sheaves on a yoke over his shoulders.

S—Vintage: gathering grapes? Possibly a tree rather than a vine is represented; there is a bird in it, and an animal below.

O—Missing.

N—Missing.

D—Missing.

These interesting miniatures combine the mediaeval labor with other figures which apparently personify the month. Except in two cases, the labors are found in the left arch, the figures in the right being probably intended as persons taking the advice proffered on the scroll held by the central figure. It is the last which is the personification, for the advice sometimes begins with the phrase *meis diebus*. (For this advice see Appendix N.) The spreading of reaping over two months suggests that this cycle, based on an original made up for an earlier summer, has been adapted to a more northern climate in this way. The signs of the zodiac, of which those for Mar.—Oct. remain, accompany the months on the opposite page, Capricorn for January, etc. The verse mentions Pisces for March, but instead of the usual sign there is the scene of fishing illustrated in place of February in the plate published herewith. This indicates that the occasional scenes of fishing for February or March may not always be legitimate labors, but were inspired by the idea of Pisces or its mention in verses. The illustrations are in gouache.

Hubert Janitschek, *Geschichte der deutschen Malerei* (Berlin 1890), 129 ff.; Arthur Haseloff, *Eine thüringische-sächsische Malerschule* (Strassburg 1897), 76; Walter, in *Archives alsaciennes d'histoire d'art* IV (1925), 1 ff.

89. Stuttgart, Königliche öffentliche Bibliothek. MS. Hist. fol. 415, "Chronicon Zwifaltense minus." Plate 55; page 87.

J—Hunting hares.

F—Cutting wood.

Mr—Pruning. Also a man with fish and trident (inspired by the zodiacal sign Pisces?).

Ap—Plant husbandry: grafting and training vines.

My—Catching birds? I.e. a figure holding a net (?) in the right hand, nest of birds in left; another nest of birds in a tree.

Ju—(Plowing.) Indirect reference by man carrying plow on shoulder. A cup (?) in right hand may indicate thirst.

Jl—Mowing, i.e. man sharpening scythe.

Ag—Reaping.

S—Sowing.

O—Vintage: gathering grapes.

N—Killing bees (?) ; the animal seems to be an ox rather than the more usual hog.

D—Killing hogs; specifically dressing, or even cooking the hog, which lies in a pan as the man cuts along its back.

The miniature represents the Year in the center of a circular table, the months and the signs of the zodiac appearing in concentric circles around him, January being accompanied by Capricorn, etc. The miniature occurs at fol. 17, and is repeated later, before the Martyrology.

Brandt, 153-54, fig. 193; Karl Löffler, *Schwäbische Buchmalerei in romanischer Zeit* (Augsburg 1928), 44-45, pl. 22.

TWELFTH CENTURY—ENGLAND

90. Brookland (Kent), Church. Lead font. Plate 56; page 89.

- | | |
|---|---|
| J—Feasting: Janus-figure holding loaf and horn (?). | Jl—Mowing: a man raking up the newly-cut hay. |
| F—Warming. | Ag—Reaping. |
| Mr—Pruning. | S—Threshing. |
| Ap—Flower-bearer. | O—Vintage: treading grapes. |
| My—Rider, with falcon. | N—Feeding hogs. |
| Ju—Mowing. | D—Killing hogs. |

The name of the month is inscribed above each labor, and the zodiacal sign, Aquarius for January, etc., is represented in an additional compartment above. There was space for twenty scenes of the dimensions used, and eight of the months are repeated, beginning with March. The mouldings are interrupted above July-Aug. and Dec.—Jan. by two small identical scenes which apparently refer to the Resurrection; they are illustrated by Smith.

Nesbitt, in *Archaeological Journal* VI (1849), 159 ff., with engraving; Smith, in *Archaeologia Cantiana* IV (1861), 84, with engraving; Liwett, *ibid.* XXVII (1905), 255 (with photograph of S, O); Francis Bond, *Fonts and Font Covers* (London, Toronto, and New York 1908), 189 ff., ill., p. 80 (photographs of J—Mr, S—D).

91. Burnham Deepdale (Norfolk), Church. Stone font. Plate 57; page 88.

- | | |
|---|---------------------------|
| J—Feasting: a man drinking from horn. | Ju—Weeding. |
| F—Warming. | Jl—Mowing. |
| Mr—Digging the soil. | Ag—Reaping. |
| Ap—Pruning. | S—Threshing. |
| My—Figure with a banner: procession (for Rogation days?), or journey? | O—Vintage: filling casks. |
| | N—Killing hogs. |
| | D—Feasting. |

Pegge, in *Archaeologia* X (1792), 117 ff., pl. 19 (engraving); Francis Bond, *Fonts and Font Covers* (London, Toronto, and New York 1908), 189 ff., ill. p. 190 (J-Ag); Edward S. Prior and Arthur Gardner, *An Account of Mediaeval Figure Sculpture in England* (Cambridge 1912), 156, fig. 130 (My-Ag).

92. Cambridge, Library of St. John's College. MS. 42. Plate 58; page 93.

- | | |
|--|------------------------------|
| J—Feasting: Janus-figure holding loaf and horn. | Ju—Weeding. |
| F—Warming (and Feasting, for figure also drinks from horn). | Jl—Mowing. |
| Mr—Digging the soil. | Ag—Reaping. |
| Ap—Pruning. | S—Vintage: gathering grapes. |
| My—Hunting with falcon: semi-nude figure with hawk and branch. | O—Sowing. |
| | N—Killing hogs. |
| | D—Gathering wood. |

Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge* (Cambridge 1913), 57-58.

93. Cambridge, Library of St. John's College. MS. 233. Plate 59; page 92.

- | | |
|---|---|
| J—Feasting: Janus-figure, crowned (?), holding horn and staff or scepter (or spitted fowl ?). | Ag—Reaping. The second figure's hand is raised toward the sky, possibly in reference to the heat; both wear sun-hats. |
| F—Warming. | S—Threshing. |
| Mr—Digging the soil. | O—Sowing. |
| Ap—Flower-bearer. | N—Gathering fruit (grapes?). |
| My—Rider, with falcon. | D—Killing hogs. |
| Ju—Weeding. | |
| Jl—Mowing. | |

James, *Catalogue* (cited under No. 92), 271-72. The cycle in this manuscript is the same as that in No. 95.

94. Glasgow, Library of the Hunterian Museum. MS. 229. Plate 60.

- J—Feasting: a figure, "hatted," seated behind a table, holds a horn and points to a loaf (?).
- F—Warming.
- Mr—Digging the soil.
- Ap—Knight's vow? A figure, wearing a gold crown (?), carries a scepter (?) and grasps the border of a long robe worn by a second figure.
- My—Rider, with falcon.

Ju—Weeding.

Jl—Mowing.

Ag—Reaping.

S—Vintage: gathering grapes.

O—Vintage: treading grapes (and tasting the wine?). One figure stands in the vat, eating a bunch of grapes the while; two others stand behind and pass a jar from hand to hand.

N—Feeding hogs: a figure knocks acorns (indicated with great clearness) from tree to hogs below.

D—Killing hogs.

The scenes are executed in gouache in the original.

P. Henderson and John Young, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow 1908), No. 229.

95. Leyden, Library of the University. MS. Supp. 318 (also referred to as 76A). "Psalter of St. Louis." Plate 61; page 91.

J—Feasting: Janus-figure, holding horn and scepter (?). Cf. No. 93.

F—Warming.

Mr—Digging the soil.

Ap—Flower-bearer.

My—Rider, with falcon.

Ju—Weeding.

Jl—Mowing.

Ag—Reaping.

S—Threshing.

O—Sowing.

N—Gathering fruit (grapes?).

D—Killing hogs.

This cycle is the same as that of No. 93, except for insignificant details in April and August, and the scenes, where they have been clipped in trimming the manuscript, may be completed from that source.

Léopold Delisle, *Notice de douze livres royaux du XIII^e et du XIV^e siècle* (Paris 1902), 19 ff.; Henri Auguste Omont, *Miniatures du Psautier de St. Louis* (Leyden 1902), with no illustrations and quotation of Delisle's description of the labors.

96. London, British Museum. MS. Lansdowne 383. Plate 62; page 92.

J—Feasting: Janus-figure, standing, holding cup and staff (or scepter).

F—Warming.

Mr—Horn-blower, holding spear (?). The flame-like hair indicates this theme rather than hunting.

Ap—Flower-bearer.

My—Rider, with falcon.

Ju—Mowing. (Three figures are profiled one back of the other, but only two scythes are drawn.)

Jl—Mowing: i.e. raking the newly-cut hay into piles. (Three figures, only the heads of those behind appearing.)

Ag—Reaping. (Four figures one behind the other.)

S—Threshing. Koseleff, 55, thinks the "vat" may indicate vintage; there can be no doubt, however, that the reference is to threshing. What has been taken as a vat is rather a basket to carry away the grain (cf. the representations in Nos. 33 and 34, Dec.). The present artist's rendering of a vat is found in the scene illustrating October, and the difference is amply clear.

O—Vintage: treading grapes.

N—Killing hogs.

D—Gathering wood.

The signs of the zodiac accompany the labors, Capricorn for January, etc., in separate medallions.

George Frederic Warner, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Museum*, Series I-IV (London 1903), discussing pl. 13 (no ill. of the labors); Eric George Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts from the 10th to the 13th Centuries* (Paris and Brussels 1926), 28, and text for pls. 32-33 (none of the labors is reproduced).

97. Oxford, Bodleian Library. MS. 614. Plate 63.

J—Feasting (Janus-figure). A servant tends the fire near which a cat (?) sits.

F—Warming: the figure removes his shoes and a servant fans the fire with a large bellows.

Mr—Pruning. (This scene is done largely with decorative intent: two figures in a mass of intertwining vines.)

Ap—Lacking.

S—Lacking.

My—Lacking.

O—Lacking.

Ju—Lacking.

N—Lacking.

Jl—Lacking.

D—Lacking.

Ag—Lacking.

The manuscript, of the end of the century, contains astronomical treatises; the calendar suggests a north French basis modified in England (cf. Madan and Craster).

Falconer Madan and Herbert H. E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford Which Have not Hitherto Been Catalogued in the Quarto Series II*, pt. 1, Nos. 1-3490 (Oxford 1922), No. 2144; mentioned by Rosamond Tuve, *Seasons and Months, Studies in a Tradition of Middle English Poetry* (Paris 1933, diss.), 158.

98. York, St. Margaret. Reliefs on hood moulding of porch. Page 91.

J—Feasting (whether a Janus-figure or two figures is not clear).

F—Warming.

Mr—Pruning.

Ap—Flower-bearer.

My—Rider, dismounted.

Ju—Weeding. This scene occurs at present with the sign for July, Leo; but, as the signs and scenes seem to have become separated in some cases (cf. April and Taurus), it seems probable that it was originally intended as the illustration for June, as it always occurs for that month in the other cycles.

Jl—Mowing. This scene occurs at present with the sign for June, Cancer; however, the general iconography of the English cycles indicates that it was originally intended for July.

Ag—Reaping (rather than storing grain).

S—Vintage: gathering grapes (?).

O—Feeding hogs.

N—Killing hogs.

D—Feasting.

John Carter, *Specimens of the Ancient Sculpture and Painting now Remaining in England*, etc. (2nd ed., London 1838) II, pls. 103-4 (drawing); Edward S. Prior and Arthur Gardner, *An Account of Mediaeval Figure Sculpture in England* (Cambridge 1912), 36, 169.

COMPARATIVE TABLES*

(12th century)

I. ITALY

- Jan.—Warming, $\frac{1}{4}$ * (simple: 45, 46, 53, 54; Janus-figure: 40, 47, 48).
 Feasting, $\frac{3}{4}$ (simple: 39, 44; Janus-figure: 41).
 Janus-figure, $\frac{2}{4}$ (35, 42).
 Cutting wood, $\frac{1}{4}$ (50).
 Offering (from antique?), $\frac{1}{4}$ (52).
- Feb.—Warming, $\frac{4}{8}$ (35, 37, 44, 50).
 Pruning, $\frac{2}{8}$ (51, 53).
 Fishing (cf. remarks under No. 88), $\frac{2}{8}$ (52?, 54).
 Digging, $\frac{2}{8}$ (39, 47).
 Cutting wood, $\frac{2}{8}$ (40, 45).
 Feasting, $\frac{1}{8}$ (46).
- Mar.—Horn-blower, $\frac{9}{8}$ (38, 39?, 40, 41, 45, 47, 49, 51, 53).
 Thorn-extractor, $\frac{5}{8}$ (42, 46, 48, 52, 54).
 Pruning, $\frac{3}{8}$ (35, 44, 50).
 Digging? $\frac{1}{8}$ (37).
- Apr.—Flower-bearer, $\frac{1}{8}$ (35, 37?, 39, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54).
 Shepherd? $\frac{1}{8}$ (46).
 Shearing sheep? $\frac{1}{8}$ (37).
- May—Rider, $\frac{1}{4}$ (35, 39, 41, 42, 44, 45?, 47, 48, 51, 52, 53, 54).
 Mowing, $\frac{1}{4}$ (49).
 Gathering fruit, $\frac{1}{4}$ (46).
- June—Reaping, $\frac{8}{8}$ (36, 37, 39, 42, 46, 47, 52, 54).
 Mowing, $\frac{7}{8}$ (35, 38, 44, 45, 48, 50, 51).
 Gathering fruit $\frac{1}{8}$ (53).
- July—Threshing, $\frac{7}{4}$ (39, 40, 42, 46, 47, 52, 54).
 Reaping, $\frac{7}{4}$ (35, 44, 45, 48, 50, 51, 53).

* The numerator of the fraction following the name of each labor indicates the number of occurrences of that labor; the denominator indicates the total number of labors which remain for the month concerned. In each case, only those scenes are included which can be identified with reasonable certainty. The numbers following, in parentheses, give the places where the labor in question occurs, according to the numbers of the Catalogue. The labors are arranged, for each month, in order of their importance, so that the first mentioned (sometimes the first two) may be taken as the characteristic labors of that month.

- Aug.—Cooper, $\frac{8}{14}$ (39, 40, 45, 47, 48, 49, 51, 53).
 Threshing, $\frac{3}{14}$ (35, 44, 50).
 Gathering fruit $\frac{2}{14}$ (52, 54).
 Vintage: gathering grapes, $\frac{1}{14}$ (46).
- Sept.—Vintage: treading grapes, $\frac{9}{18}$ (35, 36, 42, 44, 46, 51, 52, 53, 54).
 Vintage: gathering grapes, $\frac{8}{18}$ (37, 38, 39, 40, 47, 48, 49, 50).
 Vintage: unspecified, $\frac{1}{18}$ (45).
- Oct.—Sowing, $\frac{6}{18}$ (37, 39?, 45, 47, 50, 51).
 Vintage: filling casks, $\frac{2}{18}$ (44, 52?).
 Vintage: tasting wine? $\frac{1}{18}$ (48?).
 Vintage: storing wine? $\frac{1}{18}$ (54).
 Feeding hogs, $\frac{2}{18}$ (38, 53).
 Plowing, $\frac{1}{18}$ (46).
- Nov.—Killing hogs, $\frac{5}{18}$ (38, 39, 48, 49, 53).
 Sowing, $\frac{3}{18}$ (36, 44, 46).
 Plowing, $\frac{3}{18}$ (42, 52?, 54).
 Pulling turnips, $\frac{2}{18}$ (37, 47).
 Feeding hogs, $\frac{2}{18}$ (45, 50).
 Gathering wood, $\frac{1}{18}$ (35).
- Dec.—Killing hogs, $\frac{10}{18}$ (35, 36, 37, 42, 45, 46, 49, 51, 52, 54).
 Cutting wood, $\frac{5}{18}$ (39, 44, 47, 48, 53).
 Feasting? $\frac{1}{18}$ (38).

II. FRANCE

- Jan.—Feasting, $\frac{9}{11}$ (simple: 59, 62, 67, 73, 76, 77, 80, 81; Janus-figure: 64).
 “Year’s change,” $\frac{2}{11}$ (72, 74?).
- Feb.—Warming, $\frac{12}{11}$ (59, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 69, 72, 73, 74?, 76, 77, 80, 81).
- Mar.—Pruning, $\frac{14}{11}$ (59, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 69, 72, 73, 74?, 75?, 77, 81).
 Digging, $\frac{1}{11}$ (76).
- Apr.—Flower-bearer, $\frac{10}{11}$ (63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 72, 73, 76, 77?, 80).
 Shepherd? $\frac{2}{11}$ (59, 81?).
 Indeterminate, $\frac{1}{11}$ (62).
- May—Rider, $\frac{14}{11}$ (56, 59, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 69, 72?, 73, 75, 76, 77, 80).
 Indeterminate, $\frac{2}{11}$ (62, 81).
- June—Mowing, $\frac{14}{11}$ (56?, 58, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 69, 72, 73, 76, 77, 81).
 Gathering fruit, $\frac{1}{11}$ (59).
- July—Reaping, $\frac{13}{11}$ (56?, 58, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 69, 72, 75, 76, 77, 81).
 Mowing, $\frac{1}{11}$ (59).
 Weeding? $\frac{1}{11}$ (73).
- Aug.—Threshing, $\frac{13}{11}$ (56, 58, 59, 62, 63?, 65, 66, 69, 72, 76, 77, 78, 81).
 Reaping, $\frac{3}{11}$ (64, 73, 80).

- Sept.—Vintage: treading grapes, $\frac{9}{16}$ (56, 58, 59, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68).
 Vintage: gathering grapes, $\frac{5}{16}$ (62, 69, 76, 77, 81).
 Vintage: filling casks, $\frac{1}{16}$ (72).
 Threshing, $\frac{1}{16}$ (73).
- Oct.—Feeding hogs, $\frac{3}{4}$ (58, 59, 64, 65, 66, 72, 73?, 78).
 Vintage: filling casks, $\frac{3}{4}$ (62, 74?, 77).
 Killing hogs, $\frac{1}{4}$ (81).
 Storing harvest? $\frac{1}{4}$ (76).
 Indeterminate, $\frac{1}{4}$ (63).
- Nov.—Killing hogs, $\frac{6}{7}$ (62, 64, 72, 74, 76, 80).
 Feeding oxen, $\frac{9}{7}$ (56, 58, 65, 66 (hogs?), 67, 78).
 Gathering wood, $\frac{2}{7}$ (59, 69).
 Feeding hogs, $\frac{1}{7}$ (77).
 Herdsman, $\frac{1}{7}$ (73).
 Unexplained, $\frac{1}{7}$ (81).
- Dec.—Feasting, $\frac{1}{7}$ (56, 58, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 72, 74, 78).
 Killing hogs, $\frac{4}{7}$ (59, 69, 73, 77).
 Cutting wood, $\frac{1}{7}$ (80).
 Baking, $\frac{1}{7}$ (76).

III. SPAIN

- Jan.—Feasting, $\frac{2}{3}$ (85, 86).
 “Year’s change?”, $\frac{1}{3}$ (83).
- Feb.—Warming, $\frac{4}{4}$ (83, 84, 85, 86).
- Mar.—Pruning, $\frac{4}{4}$ (83, 84, 85, 86).
- Apr.—Flower-bearer, $\frac{2}{4}$ (84, 85).
 Shepherd, $\frac{1}{4}$ (84).
 Knight’s vow?, $\frac{1}{4}$ (86).
- May—Rider, $\frac{2}{3}$ (83, 86).
 Gathering fruit, $\frac{1}{3}$ (84).
- June—Reaping, $\frac{3}{4}$ (83?, 84, 86).
 Mowing, $\frac{1}{4}$ (85).
- July—Reaping, $\frac{2}{4}$ (83, 85).
 Threshing, $\frac{1}{4}$ (86).
 Storing grain? $\frac{1}{4}$ (84).
- Aug.—Threshing, $\frac{2}{4}$ (83, 85).
 Cooper, $\frac{1}{4}$ (84).
 Repose (heat ?), $\frac{1}{4}$ (86).
- Sept.—Vintage: gathering grapes, $\frac{3}{4}$ (83, 84, 85).
 Vintage: unspecified, $\frac{1}{4}$ (86).

- Oct.—Vintage: filling casks, $\frac{2}{4}$ (85, 86).
 Feeding hogs, $\frac{2}{4}$ (83, 84).
 Nov.—Killing hogs, $\frac{2}{4}$ (83, 84).
 Feeding hogs, $\frac{1}{4}$ (85).
 Plowing (and sowing), $\frac{1}{4}$ (86).
 Dec.—Feasting, $\frac{2}{3}$ (83, 84).
 Killing hogs, $\frac{1}{3}$ (86).

IV. GERMANY

- Jan.—Feasting, $\frac{2}{3}$ (87, 88).
 Hunting hares, $\frac{1}{3}$ (89).
 Feb.—Cutting wood, $\frac{2}{3}$ (87, 89).
 Mar.—Pruning, $\frac{2}{3}$ (87, 89).
 Digging, $\frac{1}{3}$ (88).
 Apr.—Flower-bearer, $\frac{1}{3}$ (88).
 Digging, $\frac{1}{3}$ (87).
 Cultures of vines, $\frac{1}{3}$ (89).
 May—Hunting birds, $\frac{1}{3}$ (89).
 Culture of vines, $\frac{1}{3}$ (87).
 Music-making, $\frac{1}{3}$ (88).
 June—Plowing, $\frac{2}{3}$ (87, 89).
 Mowing, $\frac{1}{3}$ (88).
 July—Mowing, $\frac{2}{3}$ (87, 89).
 Reaping, $\frac{1}{3}$ (88).
 Aug.—Reaping, $\frac{2}{3}$ (87, 88, 89).
 Sept.—Vintage: treading grapes, $\frac{1}{3}$ (87).
 Vintage: gathering grapes, $\frac{1}{3}$ (88?).
 Sowing, $\frac{1}{3}$ (89).
 Oct.—Vintage: gathering grapes, $\frac{1}{2}$ (89).
 Sowing, $\frac{1}{2}$ (87).
 Nov.—Threshing, $\frac{1}{2}$ (87).
 Killing oxen, $\frac{1}{2}$ (89).
 Dec.—Killing hogs, $\frac{2}{3}$ (87, 98).

V. ENGLAND

- Jan.—Feasting, $\frac{9}{8}$ (Janus-figure: 90, 92, 93, 95, 96, 97; simple: 91, 94; unspecified: 98).
 Feb.—Warming, $\frac{9}{8}$ (90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98).
 Mar.—Digging, $\frac{5}{8}$ (91, 92, 93, 94, 95).
 Pruning, $\frac{3}{8}$ (90, 97?, 98).
 Horn-blower? $\frac{1}{8}$ (96).

- Apr.—Flower-bearer, $\frac{5}{8}$ (90, 93, 95, 96, 98).
 Pruning, $\frac{2}{8}$ (91, 92).
 Knight's vow? $\frac{1}{8}$ (94).
- May—Rider, $\frac{6}{8}$ (90, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98).
 Procession or journey? $\frac{1}{8}$ (91).
 Hunting with falcon? $\frac{1}{8}$ (92).
- June—Weeding, $\frac{6}{8}$ (91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 98?).
 Mowing, $\frac{2}{8}$ (90, 96).
- July—Mowing, $\frac{8}{8}$ (90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98).
- Aug.—Reaping, $\frac{8}{8}$ (90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98).
- Sept.—Threshing, $\frac{5}{8}$ (90, 91, 93, 95, 96).
 Vintage: gathering grapes, $\frac{3}{8}$ (92, 94, 98).
- Oct.—Vintage: treading grapes, $\frac{3}{8}$ (90, 94, 96).
 Vintage: filling casks $\frac{1}{8}$ (91).
 Sowing, $\frac{3}{8}$ (92, 93, 95).
 Feeding hogs, $\frac{1}{8}$ (98).
- Nov.—Killing hogs, $\frac{4}{8}$ (91, 92, 96, 98).
 Feeding hogs, $\frac{2}{8}$ (90, 94).
 Gathering fruit, $\frac{2}{8}$ (93, 95).
- Dec.—Killing hogs, $\frac{4}{8}$ (90, 93, 94, 95).
 Gathering wood, $\frac{2}{8}$ (92, 96).
 Feasting, $\frac{2}{8}$ (91, 98).

CORRIGENDA

No. 6, page 121. To bibliographical note add "Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique* (Paris 1909-11) I, No. 1231; *Antike Denkmäler* I, pls. 47-49."

No. 11, page 123, line 5, and plate V. For "London . . . Museum" read "Paris, Trocadéro, Store-room (?)" and to bibliographical note add "*Inventaire des mosaïques* II, No. 752."

Note: According to the *Inventaire* the mosaic is "perhaps" in the Trocadéro, where it was stored after the Exposition of 1889. Cf. R. P. Hinks, *Catalogue of the Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Paintings and Mosaics in the British Museum* (London 1933) Part II; No. 29 there is No. 10 of the present list.

No. 12, page 124, lines 9-10. For "1^{er} fascicule . . . me)" read "I, No. 246."

No. 71, page 160. To bibliographical note add "*Inventaire des mosaïques* I, No. 914 and illustration in Atlas."

INDEX

(Numerals in bold-face type refer to the numbers assigned to works in the Catalogue, pp. 117 ff. Capital letters refer to the sections of the Appendix, pp. 104 ff. Names of libraries, museums and collections are given in general as in the sources cited.)

- Abadie, 73 f., **61**.
 Achmin, busts from, 29.
 Adone, Martyrology of, **38**, pl. XXIV.
 Agnelli, **40**.
 Alexandria: coins from, 30; importance of, 96; personification of periods of time at, 12; source of Byzantine illustrations, 26; of Roman illustrations, 23.
 Amelli, 40; 30.
 d'Ancona, 3, 64; **32(3)**, **35**, **40**, **43**, **46**, **47**, **81**.
 Angers, Prefecture, reliefs from St. Aubin, **55**, pl. XXXVI, 77.
 Antelami, 59, 60(2).
 Antioch, mosaic, **2**, pl. II, 26 ff.
 Aosta, Cathedral, mosaic, **35**, pl. XXI.
 Arezzo, Pieve di Sta. Maria, reliefs, **61**; **40**.
 Argenton-le-Château, St. Gilles, reliefs, **56**, pl. XXXVII, 70 ff.; **63**, **66**.
 Argos, mosaic, **13**, 28.
 Artaud, 33.
 Athelstan, Psalter of, 56.
 Athenaeus, 12.
 Athens: Hag. Eleutherios, reliefs, **1**, pl. I, 5 ff., 12, 36, 94; Panagia Gorgopiko, **1**.
 Aubert, 79(2); **35**, **62**, **72**, 76(3).
 Aubeterre, St. Jacques, reliefs, **57**, pl. XXXVIII, 74 ff.
 Augsburg, Cathedral, doors, 50.
 Aulnay, St. Pierre, reliefs, **58**, pl. XXXIX, 69 f.; **56**.
 Aus'm Weerth, **49**.
 Ausonius, *Eclogues*, E, F, 34, 35, 63; **51**.
 Autun: Bibliothèque de la ville, MS. 19 bis (Sacramentary of Autun), 48; Cathedral St. Lazare, **59**, pl. XL, 75, 85.
 Avallon, St. Lazare, reliefs, **60**, 76.
 Avi-Yonah, **15**, **18(2)**.
 Baehrens, 19.
 Banduri, anonymous MS. of, 30.
 Barfreston, Church, 88.
 Bari, S. Nicolò, 66.
 Bauer, **14**.
 Bede, *De Rerum Natura*, 37.
 Beisan: El Hamman, mosaic, **15**, pl. VIII, 24 ff., 31, 97; Monastery of Lady Mary, mosaic, **18**, pl. VIII, 23 f., 29, 96 f.
 Benedetto (Antelami), 59, 60(2).
 Beneventum, Sta. Sofia, cloister, reliefs, **36**, pl. XXII.
 Bequignon, **13**.
 Bergier, 79; 4(2).
 Berlin: busts from Achmin, 29; Kaiser Friedrich Museum, ivory plaque, **21**; medallion of personified month, 29; Staatsbibliothek, MS. Theol. lat. fol. 192, **28**, pl. XIV, 49, 99.
 Berne: MS. 88, 47; MS. 108, 14.
 Bertoni, **44**.
 Besançon, Roman arch, 34.
 Beulé, 21.
 Biadene, 35, 111.
 Biebel, **17**.
 Biehl, **52**.
 Boinet, 47, 48, 49.
 Boll, 23; 20(2).
 Bond, 51; **90**, **91**.
 Bordeaux, Ste. Croix, reliefs, **61**, pl. XLI, 72 ff.
 Borgo San Donnino, *see* Fidenza.
 Bouet, **73**.
 Boulogne-sur-mer, Bibliothèque de la ville, MS. 188, **27**, pl. XIII, 47.
 Bourges, St. Ursin, reliefs, **62**, pl. XLII, 77, 89; **55**.
 Brandt, 3, 30, 32, 70, 76, 89; 20, **22**, **35**, **36**, **37**, **39**, **40**, **43**, **49**, **51**, **52**, **60**, **62**, **64**, **65**, **78**, **81(3)**, **84**, **89**.
 Brescia, Museo Civico, fragments of capitals, **37**, pl. XXIII, 59, 61, 81; 40(2).

- Brookland, Church, font, 90, pl. LVI, 89 ff.
 Brutails, 61(2), 63(2).
 Burgundy, cycles in, 75 ff.
 Burnham Deepdale, Church, font, 91, pl. LVII, 88 f.
 Byvanck, 78.
 Byzantine illustration: Developed B., 25 f., 97; Proto-B., 23 ff., 96; derivation of, 26; influence of, 50, 87, 101; related to scenes in ivories, 25.
 Cagnat, 11.
 Calderini, 40.
 Cambridge, St. John's Library: MS. 42, 92, pl. LVIII, 93; 28; MS. 233, 93, pl. LIX, 92; 28, 95(2).
 Campetti, 42(2).
 Canterbury, Christ Church, pavement, 93.
 Carabellese, 66.
 Carmina Salzburgiana: *Ydioma Mensium Singulorum*, K, 38, 39; *Item Alii Versus*, L, 38, 39, 80.
 Carter, 98.
 Carthage: mosaics from, *see* London, British Museum; mosaic, destroyed, 21.
 Castelvieil, Nôtre Dame, reliefs, 63, 67, 74.
 Catania, 29 f.
 Caumont, de, 78.
 Charly, Church, reliefs, 79.
 Chartraire, 77.
 Chartres, Cathedral: reliefs of Royal Portal, 64, 78; column of west façade, 78.
 Chauliac, 61.
 Chermignac, Church, reliefs, 79.
 Chinon, Church, reliefs, 79.
 Chronograph of 354: 7, pl. III, 14 ff. and *passim*; 20, 24, 26(5), 52; influence of in the Middle Ages, 42, 46 f., 63, 81 f., 98.
 Civray, St. Nicolas, reliefs, 65, pl. XLIII, 68 f.; 56.
 Clairvaux, St. Hilaire, reliefs, 76, 78.
 Clemens, 79.
 Clervaut-le-haut, Church, mural, 79.
 Cognac, St. Léger, reliefs, 66, pl. XLIV, 67, 69, 86; 61; as model for restorations at Bordeaux, 73 f.
 Contreras y Lopez de Ayala, 82.
 Cook, 85.
 Craster, 97(2).
 Cremona: Biblioteca capitolare, Martyrology of Adone, 38, pl. XXIV; Cathedral, reliefs, 39, pl. XXV, 60 f., 81; 47(4).
Chronicon Zwifaltense Minus, *see* Stuttgart.
 Crowfoot, 16, 17.
 Darenberg, 89.
 Davis, 21.
 Delisle, 95(2).
 Demaison, 4.
De Mensibus of Dracontius, G, 34.
 Déols, Church, reliefs, 79.
De Originibus Rerum of Rhabanus Maurus, 40.
De Rerum Natura of Bede, 37.
 Deubner, 7, 8(2), 9; 1.
 Dewald, 48, 55.
Dira patet Jani, D.
 Domazewski, von, 40.
 Dracontius, *De Mensibus*, G, 34.
 Durand, 72; 19, 61.
 Easby, Church, months, 93.
 Ebbo, Gospels of, 48.
 Egypt: papyrus from (World Chronicle), 14, pl. VII, 29, 35, 94; reliefs from, 23, 33.
 El Hamman, *see* Beisan.
 Ely, Cathedral, Prior's doorway, reliefs, 88.
 Espérandieu, 34; 4.
 Eustathius, 87.
 Fenioux, Church, reliefs, 67, pl. XLV, 66 ff.; 56, 66.
 Feret, 61(2).
 Ferrara: Cathedral, *Porta dei mesi*, *see* Museo del Duomo; Museo del Duomo, reliefs, 40, pl. XXVI, 60, 61; 39, 41.
 Fidenza (Borgo San Donnino), Cathedral, reliefs, 41, 61.
 Figeac, Church, reliefs, 79.
 Fitzgerald, 18.
 Fleury, 80.
 Florence: Laurentian Library, MS. Acq. e doni 181, 32, pl. XVI, 52, 99, MS. Plut. xxv, cod. 3, 81, MS. "Sta. Croce, Plut. dext. 12," 32; National Museum, font, 42.
 Fowler, 2(2), 53, 79, 93; 33, 34, 51.
 Frank, 10.
 Fröhner, 5.
 Gabelentz, 36, 41, 44, 45.
 Gabii, altar from, reliefs, 5, 16, 31, 36.
 Gardner, 88; 91, 98.
 Gasiorowski, 20.

- Gerona, Cathedral, textile, **82**, pls. LI, LI-A, 79 ff., 100 f.
 Gigli, **46**.
 Glasgow, Hunterian Museum, MS. 229, **94**, pl. LX.
 Gloucester, Cathedral, misericord, 51.
 Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS. Theol. 231, **29**, 29, 50, 99.
 Goldschmidt, 25, 48, 50; **21**, **24**, **28**, **79**.
 Goleniscev World Chronicle, *see* Egypt, papyrus.
 Gómez-Moreno, 84.
 Gomis, **84**.
 Gudiol y Cunnill, **82**.
 Hague, The, Royal Library of the Netherlands, MS. 76 F.13, 78.
 Hampson, 56; **33**, **34**.
 Haseloff, 81; **88**.
 Henderson, **94**.
 Hermann, **54**.
Hic Jani mensis, B, 34.
 Houvet, **64**.
 Husung, 3.
 Illustration (of the months), use of the term, 16.
 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, M, 63, 79.
 James, **92**, **93**.
 Janitschek, **32**, **88**.
 Janus, relation of to antiquity, 62 f.
 Jerash: Cathedral, mosaic, **17**, 30 f.; St. John the Baptist, **16**, 30; **15**.
 Jerusalem, Ste. Marie-la-Grande, reliefs, **68**, 78.
 Johnson, 51.
 Jones, 52.
 Jullian, **61**(2).
 Kabr-Hiram, mosaic from, **19**, 29, 35, 94.
 Keil, 25.
 Köhler, 48(3).
 Korsunskaja, 19; **8**.
 Koseleff, 3, 42, 52, 76(2); **25**, **33**, **63**, **76**, **81**, **96**.
 Kowalczyk, **66**, **78**.
 Kraeling, **17**.
 Krautheimer-Hess, **53**.
 Laborde, 4.
 Lafaye, **12**(2).
 Lalanne, 79.
 Lambesis, mosaic, 33.
 Languedoc, school of, 84, 101.
 Lasteyrie, **58**, **73**.
Laus Omnium Mensium, I, 34.
 Laval, St. Martin, mural, **69**.
 Le Blant, 48.
 Lefèvre-Pontalis, **70**.
 Lehmann-Hartleben, 39.
 Leicester, Town Hall, glass, 89.
 Leitschuh, 47(2).
 Leningrad: Hermitage, mosaic, **8**, pl. IV, 18 ff.; *see also* Egypt, papyrus.
 Lentini, Chiesa della Fontana, font, **43**.
 León: Cathedral Archives, MS. No. 6, 84; S. Isidore, Panteon de los Reyes, mural, **83**, 84.
 Le Sénécal, 3, 26, 56; **12**, **19**, **71**.
 Leyden, University: MS. Supp. 318 (Psalter of St. Louis), **95**, pl. LXI, 91 f.; **93**; MS. Voss. 79 (Aratos), **26**, pl. XII, 46, 82, 98.
Libri Carolini, 48.
 Liwett, 88; **90**.
 Löffler, **89**.
 London, British Museum: glass from Tanis, 3, 28 f., 94; MS. Cott. Galba A. XVIII. (Psalter of Athelstan), 56; MS. Cott. Jul. A. VI, **33**, pls. XVII–XVIII, 53 ff., 99; **34**, **96**; MS. Cott. Tib. B. V., **34**, pls. XIX–XX, 53 ff., 99; **96**; MS. Lansdowne 381, **87**, 88; MS. Lansdowne 383, **96**, pl. LXII, 51, 58, 92; mosaics from Carthage, **10**, pl. IV, 17 f.; **11**, pl. V, 20, 97; *Reproductions from Illuminated Manuscripts*, **87**; statue group from Nîmes, 30.
 Longuemar, 32, 76, 78, 79.
 Lozoya, **82**.
 Lucca, S. Frediano, font, 64; **42**.
 Lucureux, **69**, **75**.
 Madan, **97**(2).
 Maillard, **74**.
 Mâle, **62**, **78**(3).
 Marignan, 78; **72**.
Martius hic falcem, J, 34.
 Maskell, 51.
 Mazois, 32(2).
 Melle: St. Hilaire, reliefs, **70**, **70**; St. Pierre, **70**.
Menologium Rusticum Colotianum, A.
Menologia Rustica, 32, 35, 97; cf. A.
 Meomartini, **36**.
 Merlet, **31**.

- Michel, 58.
 Milan, S. Aquilino, apse, 52.
 Millar, 56; 33, 96.
 Modena, Cathedral, reliefs, 44, pl. XXVII; 52.
 Monreale, Cathedral, cloister, reliefs, 45.
 Montecassino, MS. of Rhabanus Maurus, 30, 40.
 Montfaucon, 12.
 Morey, 52.
 Moses, scenes from life of, 64.
 Munich, Staatsbibliothek, MS. Clm. 210, cim. 309, 24, 37 ff.; cf. pl. X.
 Nesbitt, 90; 90.
 Nichols, 93.
 Nîmes, statue group from, 30.
 Octateuchs, 23, 25.
Officia XII Mensium, H, 34.
 Omont, 95.
 Otranto, mosaic, 46, 62.
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, 97, pl. LXIII.
 Panofsky, 39.
 Papini, 52.
 Paris: Bib. Nat., MS. lat. 1 (Vivien Bible), 48, MS. lat. 8850 (Gospels of Soissons), 48 f.; *Catalogue sommaire des marbres antiques*; 19, Cluny Museum, mosaic from St. Denis, 71, 77; Louvre, altar from Gabii, 5, 16, 31, 36; medallion, 29; mosaic from Kabr-Hiram, 19, 29, 35, 94; mosaic from St. Romain-en-Gal, 12, pl. VI, 33, 36, 37, 39, 97.
 Parma: Baptistery, reliefs, 47, pl. XXVIII, 59 ff., 67, 81; 39; Cathedral, reliefs, 48, pl. XXIX, 59 f., 62, 63, 87; 47, 49.
 Pascal, 73 f.; 61.
 Pauly-Wissowa, 27.
 Pavia, S. Michele, mosaic, 49, pl. XXX, 62.
 Pegge, 91.
 Personification of the months: at Antioch, 26 f.; in antique art, 36; at Athens, 6, 10, 11, 12, 94; in Egypt, 28 f.; in mediaeval poetry, 38; in the Middle Ages, 37, 45 ff., 58, 80, 86, 103; 30, 31, 43, 88; in Palestine, 30 ff.; in Roman art, 13 ff., 95; tendency of Roman art to abandon, 15 f., 95.
 Peterborough, Psalter of, 89.
 Peterson, 40.
 Petrie, 3.
 Piacenza: Biblioteca capitolare, MS., 50, pl. XXXI, 85; S. Savino, mosaic, 51, pl. XXXII; 49.
 Pierce, 18.
 Pisa, Baptistery, reliefs, 52, pl. XXXIII, 52, 62, 63, 87; 37.
 Poirier, 32.
 Porter, 3, 66, 74(2), 79(2); 39(3), 41, 44, 47, 48(2), 49, 51(2), 53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 63, 66, 67, 70, 72, 76, 80, 84(2).
 Post, 83, 85.
Primus Jani tibi, C.
 Prior, 88; 91, 98.
 Proverbs, parallel to labors, 101.
 Prudentius, illustrations of, 52.
 Puig y Cadafalch, 85; 82, 84, 86.
 Reggio (Emilia), Museo Civico, mosaic, 66.
 Reims: Roman triumphal arch, 4, pl. II, 34, 36, 37, 39, 95, 97 f.; St. Remi, pavement, 79; school of, 55 f., 99.
 Reinach, 30; 4, 5.
 Remagen, Presbytery, reliefs, 88.
 Renan, 19.
 Representation (of a month), use of the term, 16.
 Rhabanus Maurus, *De Originibus Rerum*, illustrations of, 30, 40.
 Riegl, 2(2), 6, 9, 12, 32, 43, 53, 56; 6, 25, 26, 31, 32, 34(2).
 Ripoll, Sta. Maria, reliefs, 84, pl. LII, 84 ff., 100.
 Rivoira, 83.
 Robb, 62; 53.
 Robert, 12.
 Roda de Isabena, Cathedral, mural, 85, pl. LIII.
 Rome: "Auditorium of Maecenas," mosaic from 9, pl. IV, 18, 58, 62; Capitoline Museum, mosaic, 9, pl. IV, 18, 58, 62; Catacomb of Pretestato, mural of seasons, 32, 97; Column of Marcus Aurelius, 40, of Trajan, 39; Vatican Library, MS. Barb. xxxi. 39, 14; MS. Reg. lat. 438 (Martyrology of Wandalbert), 25, pl. XI, 41, 98; MS. Reg. lat. 1263 (Calendar of St. Mesmin), 31, pl. XV, 50, 92, 99; 72; MS. gr. 1291, 20, pl. IX, 22 ff., 29, 87, 96.
 Saglio, 89.
 St. Denis, Abbey Church: mosaic from

- chapel of St. Firmin, 71, 77; pavement from chapel of Ste. Osmane, 79; reliefs, 72, pl. XLVI, 77.
 St. Eusice, 76.
 St. Evroult-de-Montfort, Church, font, 73, pl. XLVII, 93.
 St. Jouin-de-Marnes, 74.
 St. Louis, Psalter of, *see* Leyden.
 St. Mesmin, Calendar of, *see* Rome, Vatican Library.
 St. Petersburg, Goleniscev Collection, papyrus, *see* Egypt.
 St. Pierre-le-Pottier, Church, mural, 75.
 St. Pompain, Church, reliefs, 79.
 St. Romain-en-Gal, mosaic from, *see* Paris, Louvre.
 St. Savin, Church, 79.
 Saintonge-Poitou: labors in, 66 ff.; characteristic iconography of, 70.
 Salinas, 43(4).
 Salzburg: illustrations from, 24, pl. X, 37 ff., 80, 98, 101; verses of, *see* Carmina Salzburgiana.
 Sanoner, 71, 88; 84.
 Saxl, 39.
 Schlosser, 54.
 Seasons: illustrations of, 11, 32, 33(4), 97.
 Selles-sur-Cher, Church, reliefs, 79; 76.
 Senlis, Cathedral, reliefs, 76, pl. XLVIII, 78.
 Sens, St. Etienne, reliefs, 77, 77, 89; 55.
 Serbat, 78.
 Sessa Aurunca, Cathedral, 63 ff.
 Smith, 90.
 Soissons, Gospels of, 48 f.
 Sorde, Church, 79.
 Soriga, 49(2).
 Souvigny, Church, pillar, reliefs, 78, pl. XLIX, 78.
 Stillwell, 2.
 Strasbourg, Episcopal Seminary, MS. of Gutta and Sintram of Marbach, 88, pl. LIV, 52, 86, 101; N, 52.
 Strutt, 34(2).
 Strzygowski, 3(4), 14, 19(2), 21, 25, 29, 30, 33(2), 87(2); 7, 9, 10, 14, 19, 22, 23, 26.
 Stuttgart, Kgl. öff. Bibliothek, MS. Hist. fol. 415 (*Chronicon Zwifaltense Minus*), 89, pl. LV, 87, 101.
 Svoronos, 6(2), 9, 12; 1(3).
 Swarzenski, 24.
 Swindler, 6.
 Symbolic rendering of labors, 16 f., 44.
 Tanis, glass from, *see* London, British Museum.
 Tarragona, Cathedral, cloister, reliefs, 86, 67, 86.
 Taylor, 20, 101.
 Terence, illustrations of, 52.
Tetrasticha Authentica, B, 34, 35, 41.
 Thiele, 46, 47; 1, 26, 27.
 Toesca, 64; 35, 38, 40, 42(3), 44, 49, 50.
 Tournai, Cathedral, reliefs, 79.
 Tournus, 79.
 Trier, Provincial Museum, mosaic, 6, 16, 31.
 Tuve, 97.
 Tyler, 18.
 Utrecht Psalter, 48, 55, 56.
 Venice, St. Mark's, MS. gr. DXL, 22, pl. X, 25 f.
 Venturi, 61, 63, 64(4), 66(2), 65; 39, 40, 41, 42(2), 43(2), 44(2), 47(2), 48, 50(2), 51.
 Vermenton, Church, reliefs, 80, 76.
 Verona, S. Zeno, reliefs, 53, pl. XXXIV, 57 ff., 62; 49.
 Vézelay, Ste. Madeleine, reliefs, 81, pl. L, 75 f., 85; 47.
 Vienna: Hofbibliothek, MS. 1137, 54, pl. XXXV, 52; Staatsbibliothek, MS. 387, 24, pl. X, 37 ff.; MS. 3416, 14.
 Viollet-le-duc, 79.
 Villefosse, 33.
 Visconti, 5.
 Vivien Bible, 48.
 Vogüé, 68.
 Vollgraff, 13.
 Walter, 88.
 Wandalbert, Martyrology of, *see* Rome, Vatican Library; verses of, 40 f.
 Warner, 96.
 Weitzmann, 25; 21.
 Wickhoff, 54.
 Wilpert, 32, 52.
 Woodruff, 52; 25.
 Xyngopoulos, 25.
 York, St. Margaret, reliefs, 98, 91.
 Young, 94.
 Zimmermann, 28, 29.
 Zodiacal signs, influence on labors, 87; 88.



15 16 17

(Gamelion (Jan.-Feb.))



18 19 20 21 22 23

Anihesteron (Feb.-Mar.)

Elaphebolion (Mar.-Apr.)

Manichion (Apr.-May)



24

Summer

Thargelion (May-June)

Skrophorion (June-July)

Hekatombaiion (July-Aug.)

Autumn

Metageiron (Aug.-Sept.)

Boedromion (Sept.-Oct.)

25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34



1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

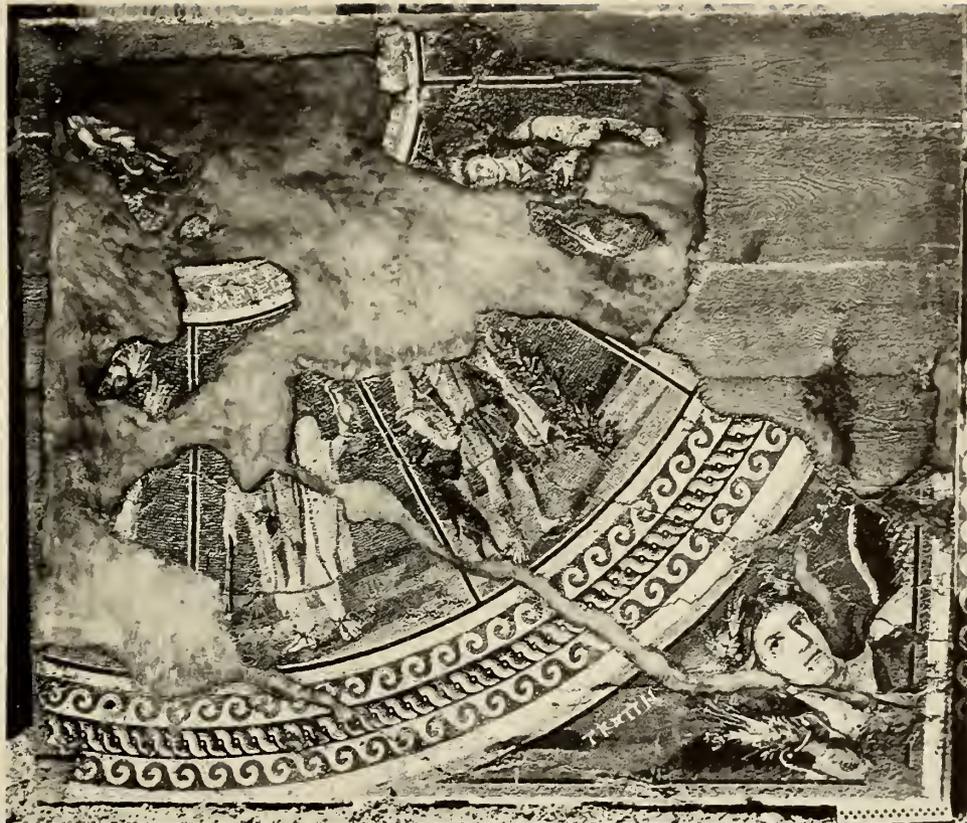
Pyanopsion (Oct.-Nov.)

Winter

Maimakterion (Nov.-Dec.)

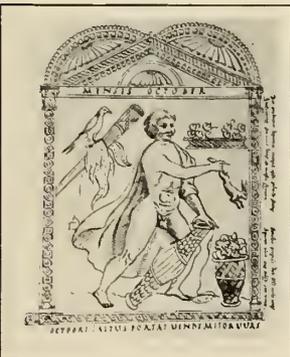
Posideon (Dec.-Jan.)

1. Athens, Hagios Eleutherios. Frieze. (*After Scronnos.*)

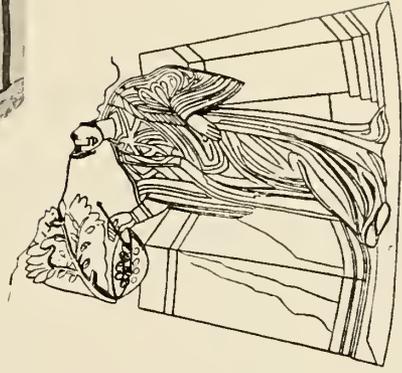
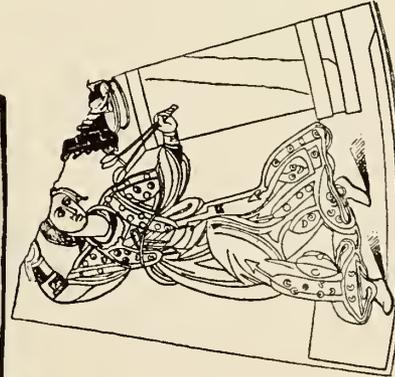


2. Antioch, Mosaic of the Months.

4. Reims, Roman Arch. (*After Bergier.*)



7. Chronograph of 354. (After Strzygowski.)



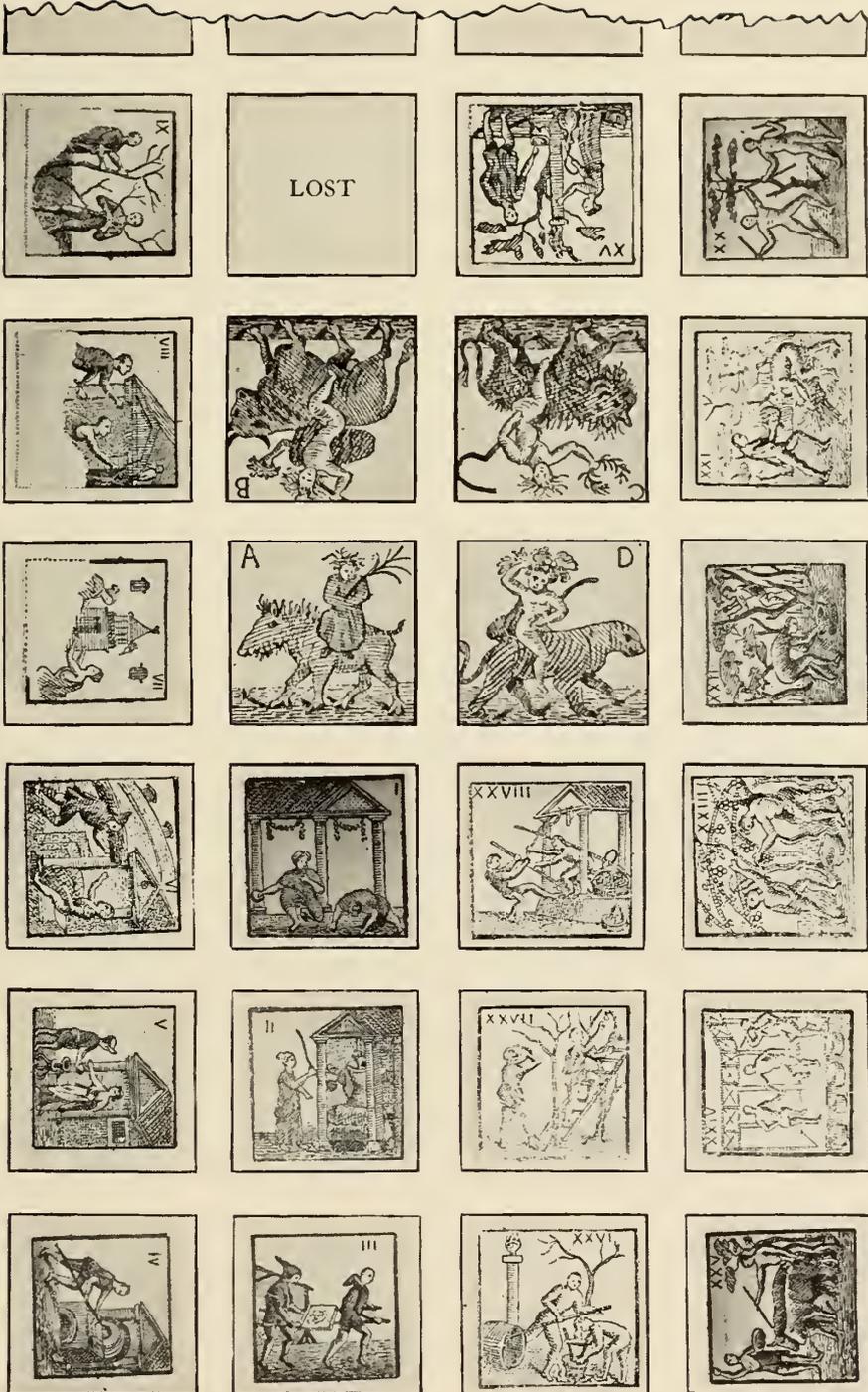
8. Leningrad, Hermitage. Mosaic of June. (After Korsunskaja.)

9. Rome, Capitoline Museum. Mosaic of May. (After Strykowski.)

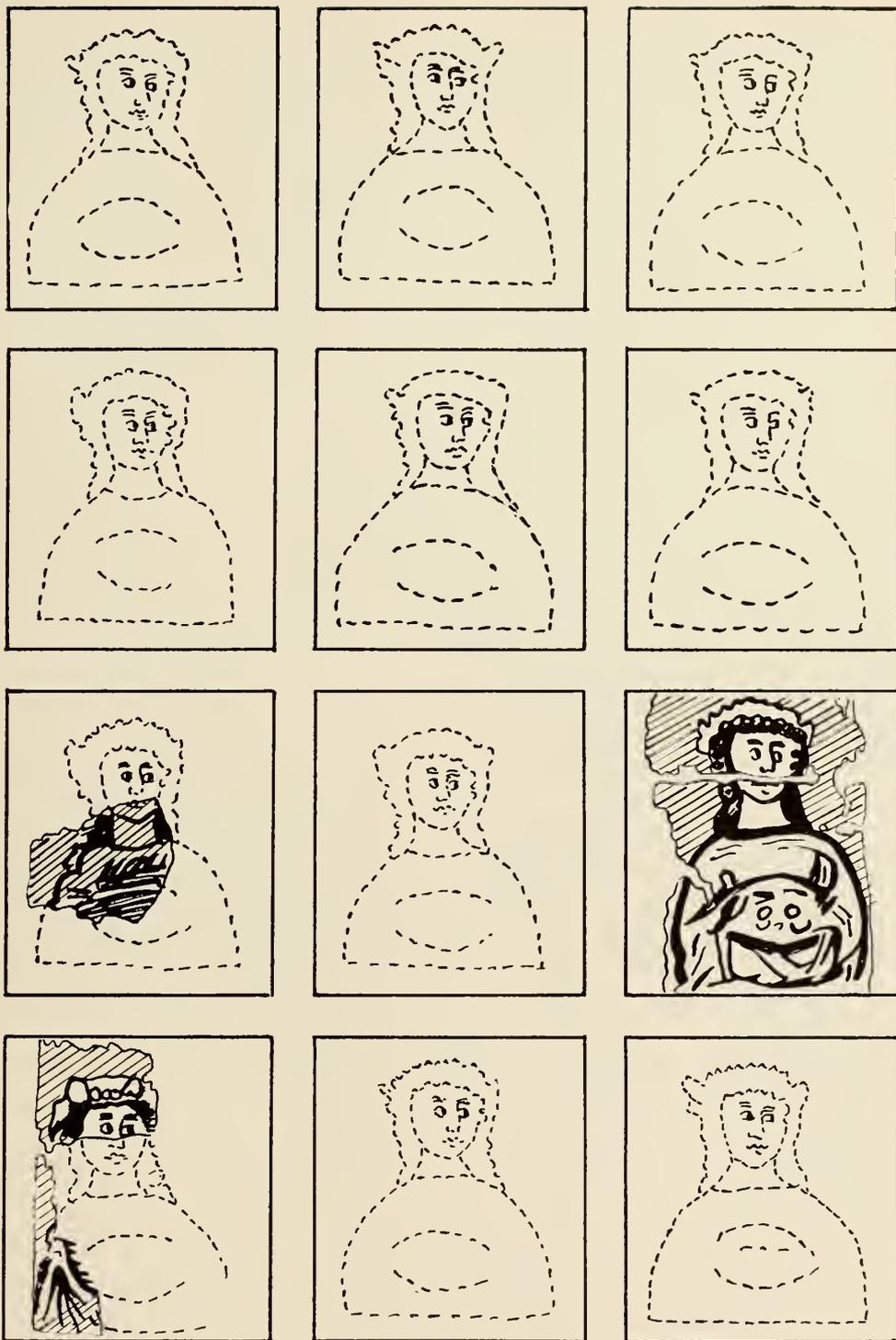
10. London, British Museum. Mosaic from Carthage: March, April, July, November. (After Strykowski.)



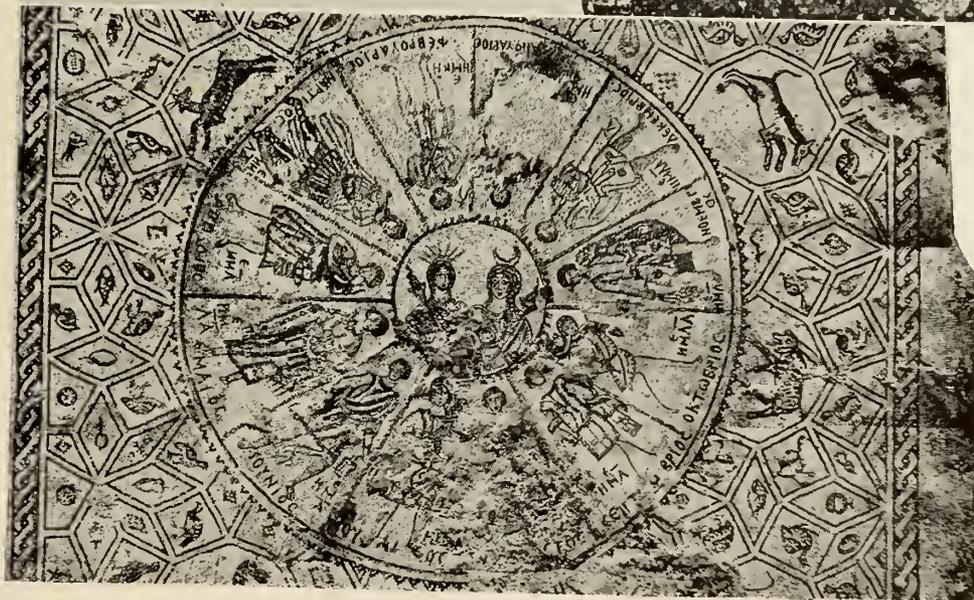
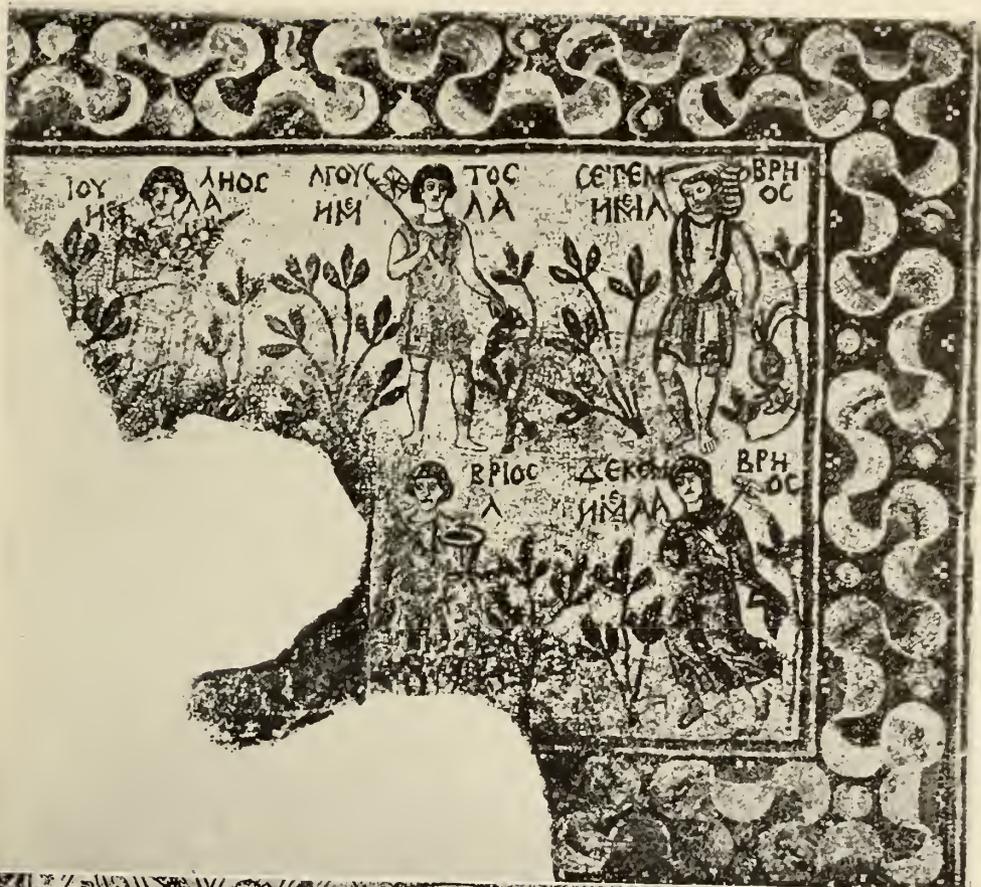
11. London, British Museum. Mosaic from Carthage. (After Cagnat.)



12. Paris, Louvre. Mosaic from St. Romain-en-Gal.
(After Lafaye.)



14. Papyrus from Upper Egypt. (After Strzygowski.)

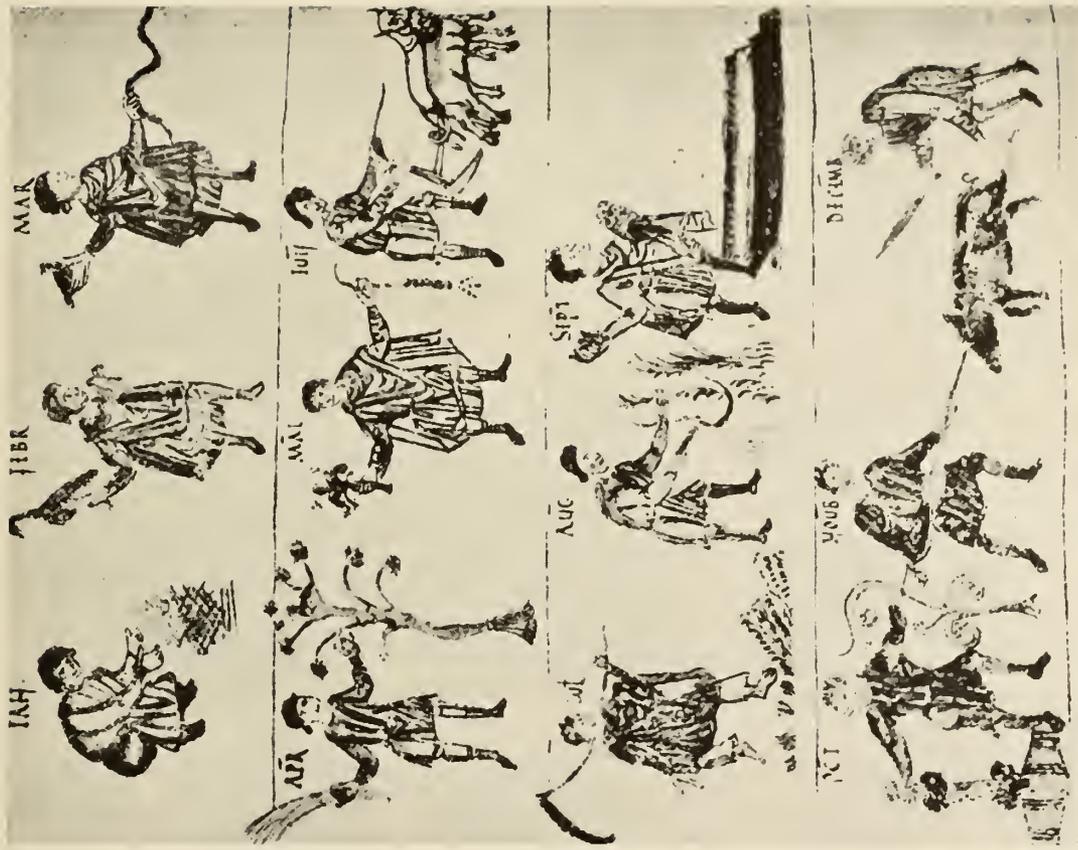


15. Beisan, Mosaic at El Hamman: Jul.–Sept., Nov., Dec. (After Avi-Yonah.)

18. Beisan, Monastery of Lady Mary. Mosaic Pavement.

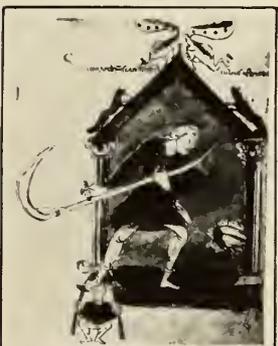


20. Rome, Vatican Library. MS. gr. 1291. (*Vatican Library.*)

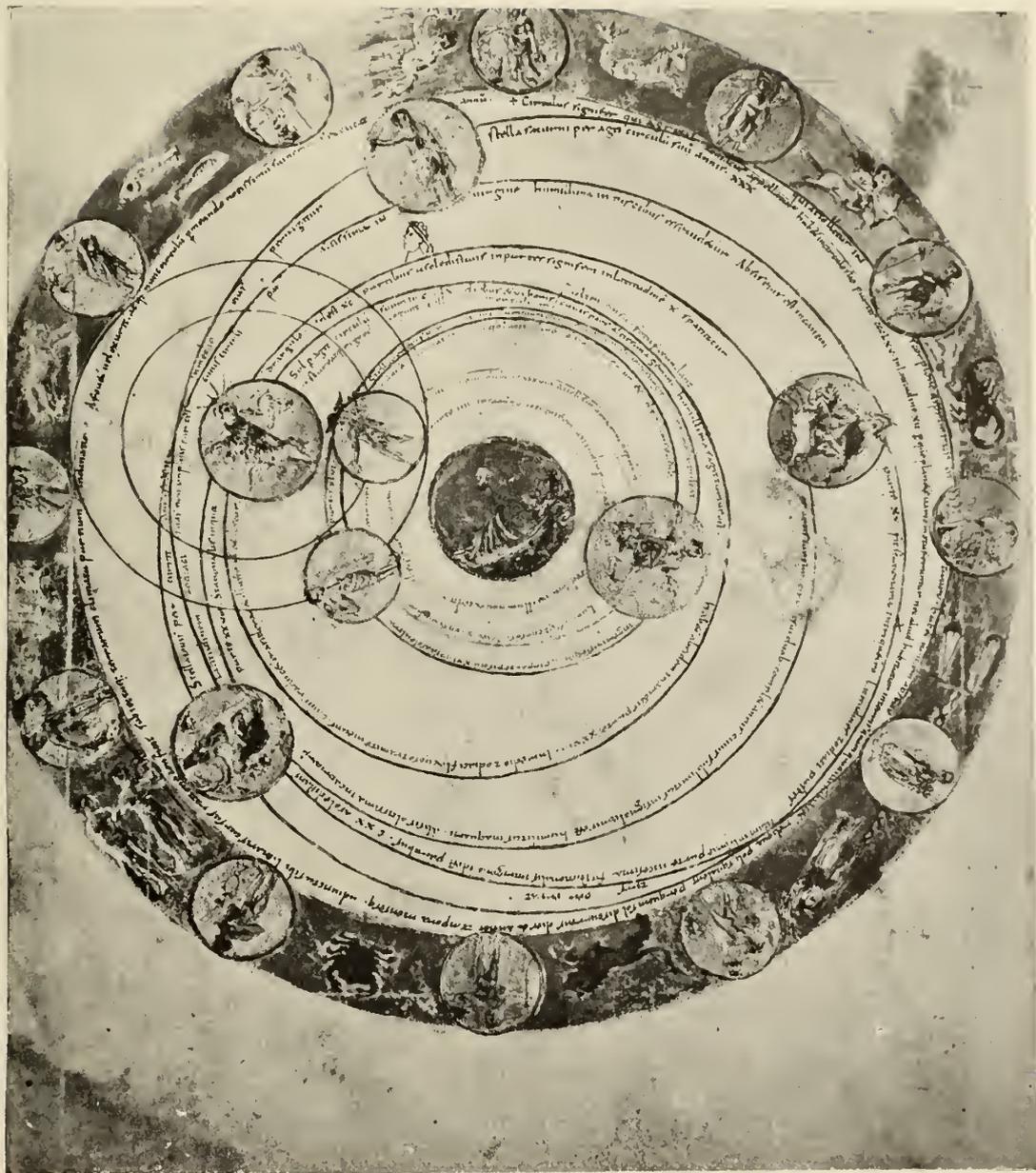


22. Venice, St. Mark's Library. MS. gr. D.XI. (*After Brandt.*)

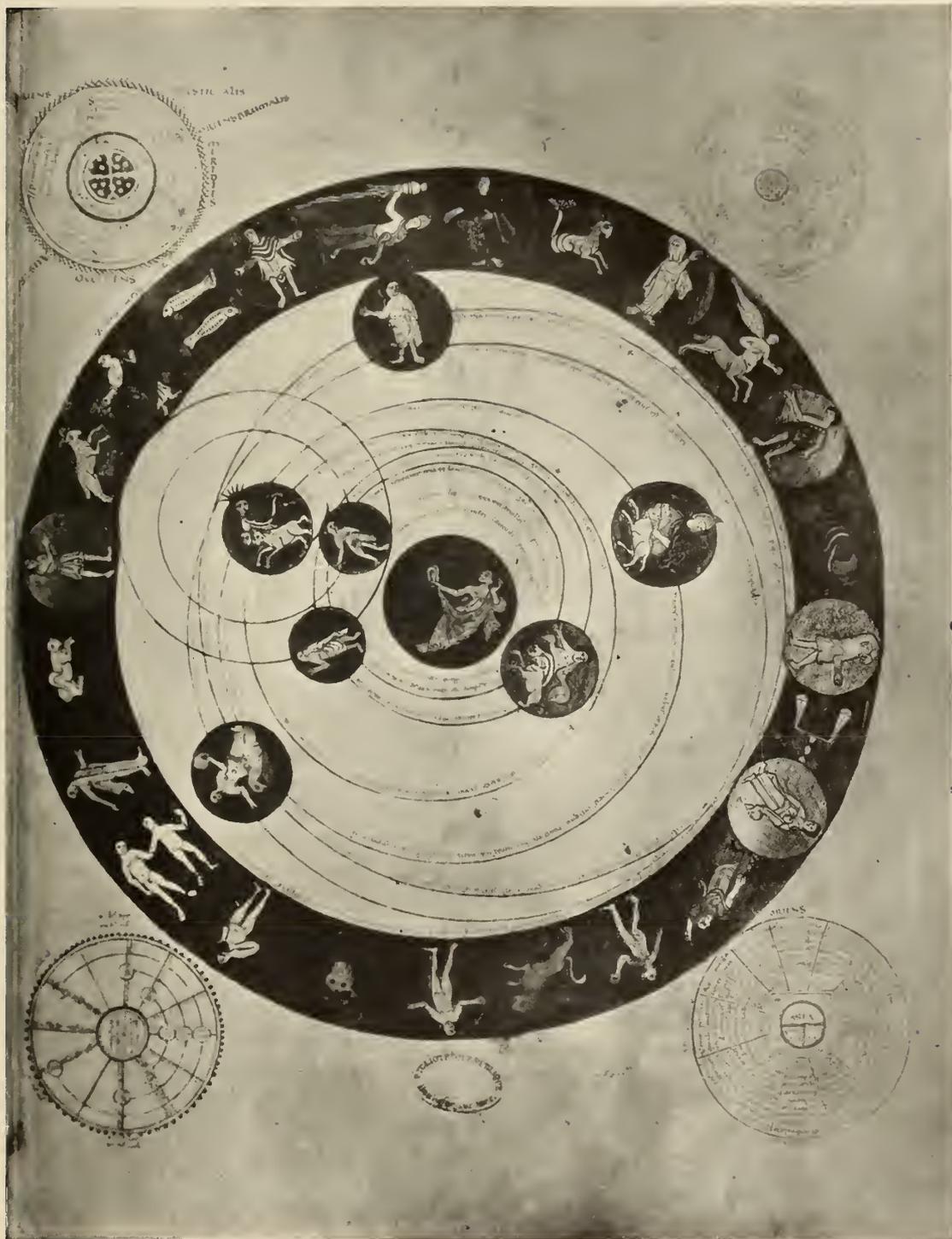
24. Vienna, Staatsbibliothek. MS. 387. (*After Swarzenski.*)



25. Rome, Vatican Library. Martyrology of Wandalbert.
 (Vatican Library.)



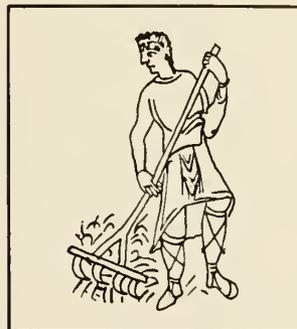
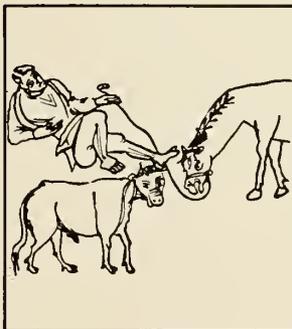
26. Leyden, Library of the University. MS. Voss. 79. (After Thiele.)



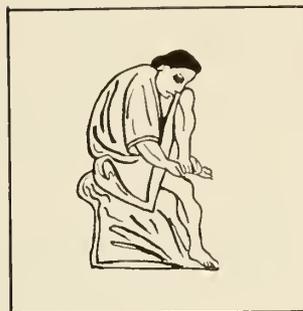
27. Boulogne-sur-mer, Bibliothèque de la Ville. MS. 188. (*A. M. Friend, Jr.*)



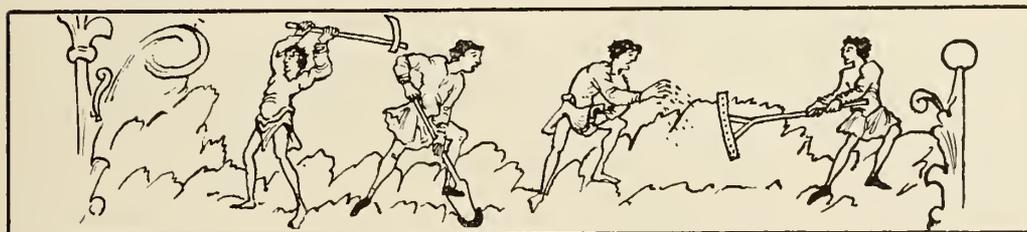
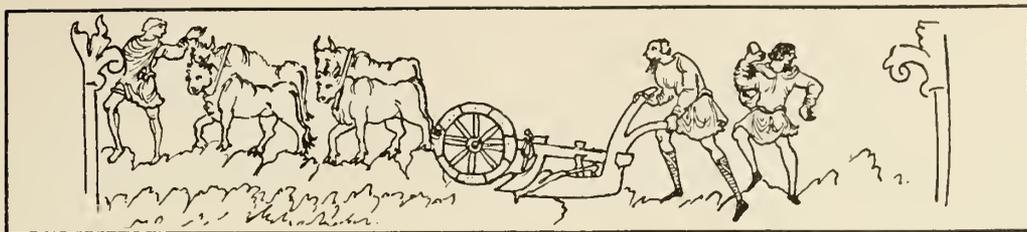
28. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek. MS. Theol. lat. 192
 (After Zimmerman.)



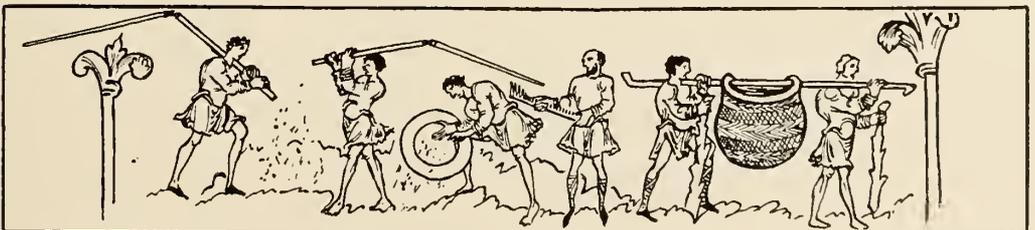
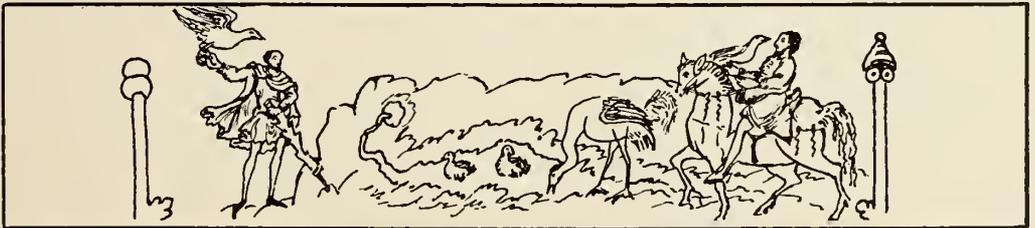
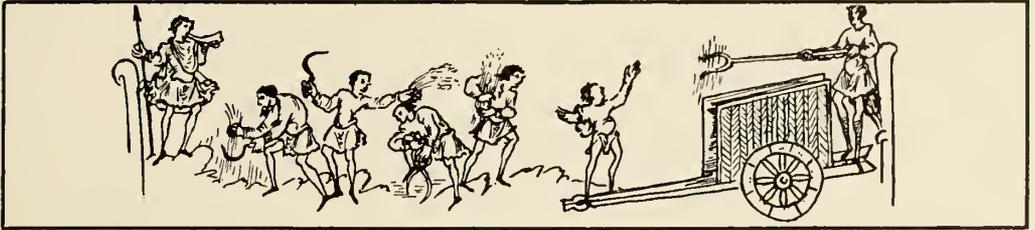
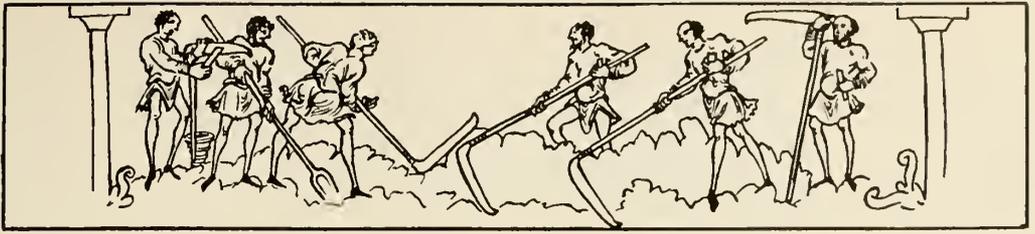
31. Rome, Vatican Library. Calendar of St. Mesmin.
 (After photographs of the Vatican Library.)



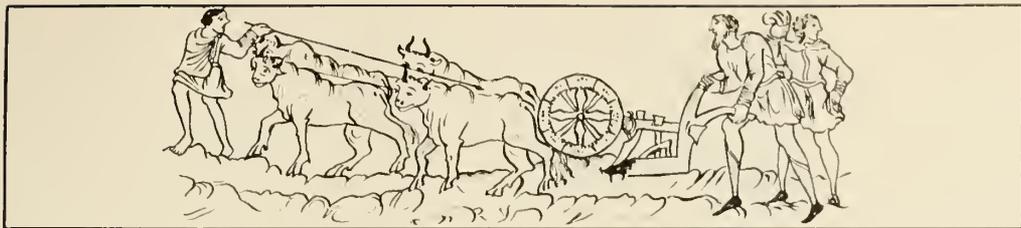
32. Florence, Laurentian Library. Acq. e doni 181. (After photographs of the Frick Art Reference Library.)



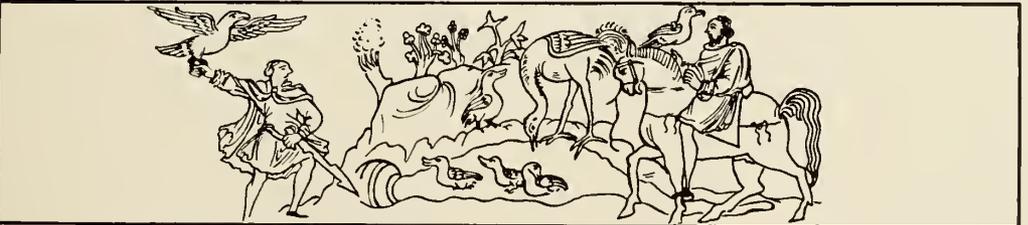
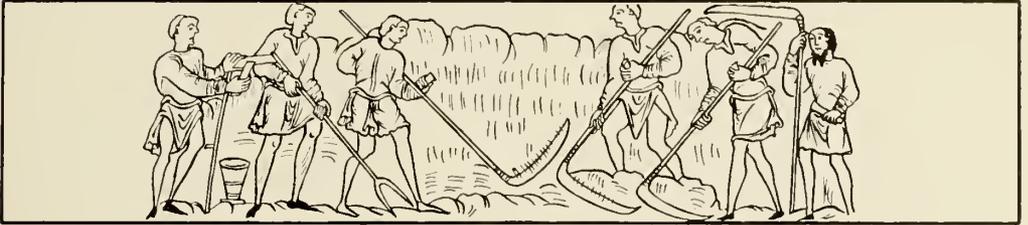
33a. London, British Museum. MS. Cott. Jul. A. VI. Jan.—June.
(After photographs of British Museum.)



33b. London, British Museum. MS. Cott. Jul. A. VI. July-Dec.
(After photographs of British Museum.)



34a. London, British Museum. MS. Cott. Tib. B. V. Jan.-June.
(After photographs of British Museum.)



34b. London, British Museum. MS. Cott. Tib. B. V. July-Dec.
(After photographs of British Museum.)



35. Aosta, Cathedral. Mosaic Pavement. (After Brandt.)



36. Beneventum. Sta. Sofia. Capitals of Cloister.
(After photographs by David M. Robb.)



1



2



3



4

MISSING

July

MISSING

August



5



6

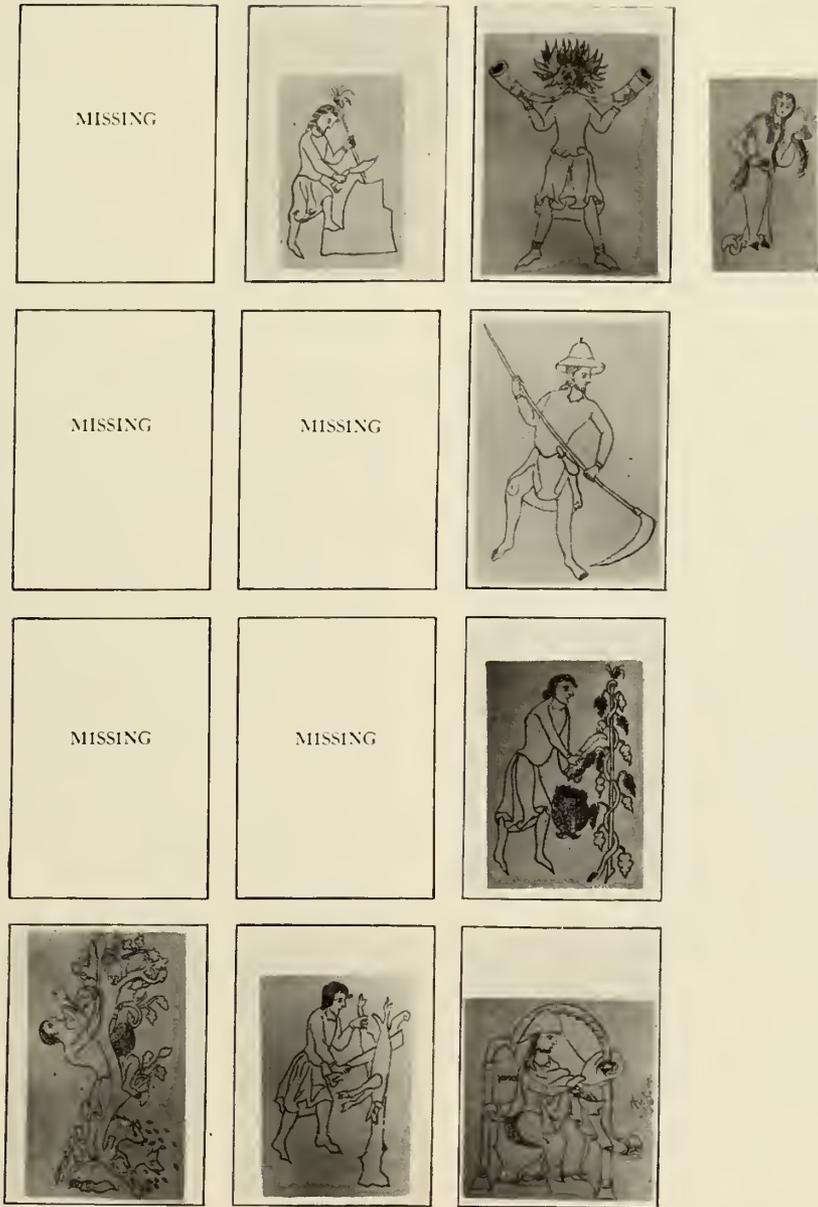


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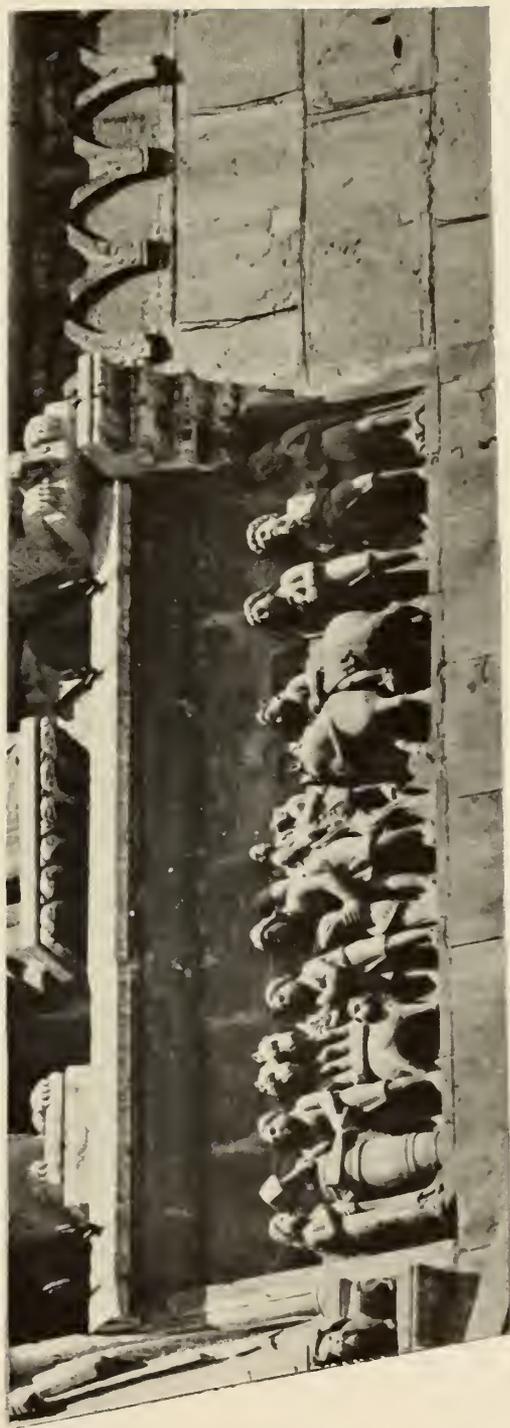


8

37. Brescia, Museo Civico. (Età cristiana.) Fragments of capitals.



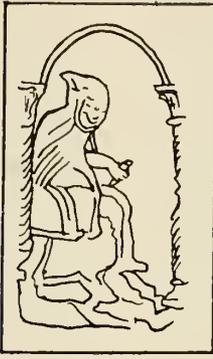
38. Cremona, Biblioteca capitolare. Martyrology of Adone.
At right: "flower-bearer." (After *Arch. Stor. Lomb.*)



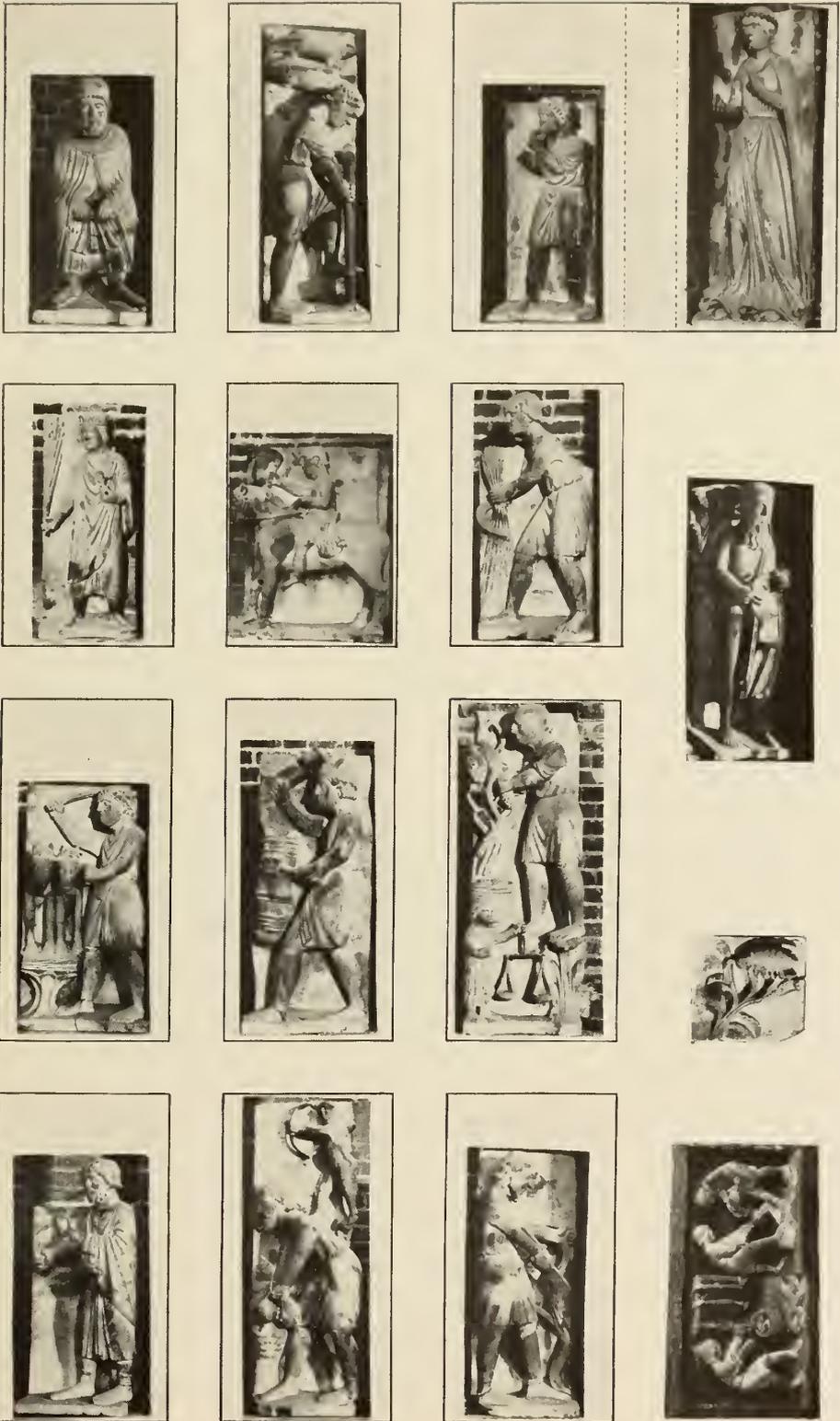
39. Cremona, Cathedral. Frieze on porch. Above: left half. Below: right half. (Photo Alinari.)



40. Ferrara, Museo del Duomo. Sculptured Slabs. Above: Mar., Feb., Jan.
Below: Sept., Aug., July. (Photo Alinari.)



44. Modena, Cathedral. Porta della Pescheria.
(After Bertoni.)



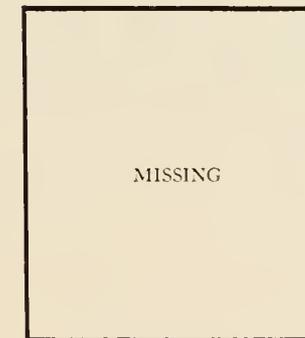
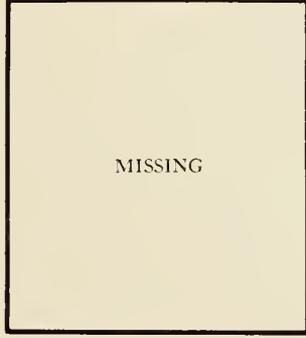
47. Parma, Baptistery. Reliefs in the triforium. At right, below, additional figures under January; next above, fragment of October; next above, figure with scroll.

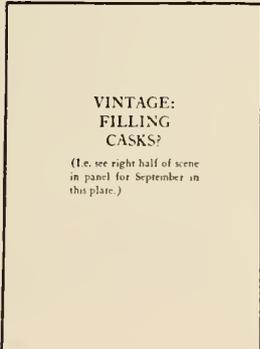
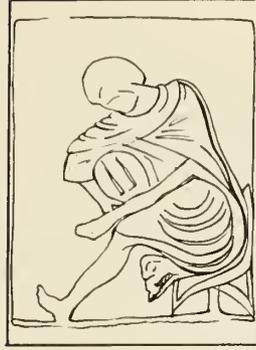


48. Parma, Cathedral. Reliefs on Portal. (*David M. Robb.*)



49. Pavia, S. Michele. Mosaic pavement. (Mr., Apr., My. after Porter, other months after Soriga.)

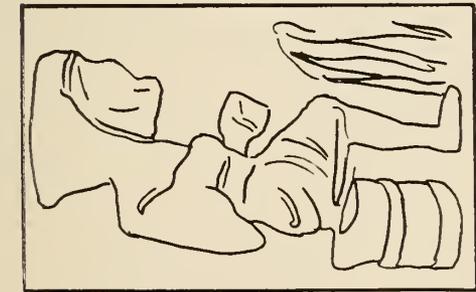




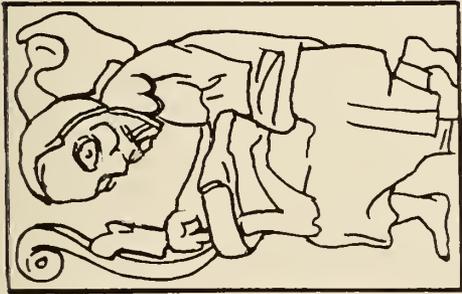


53. Verona, San Zeno. Reliefs on Porch. (*David M. Robb.*)

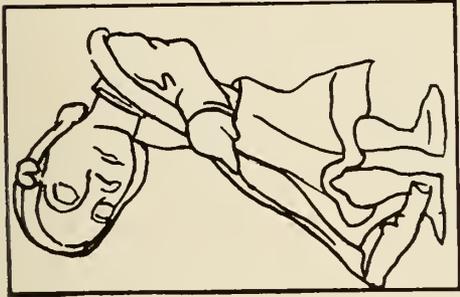




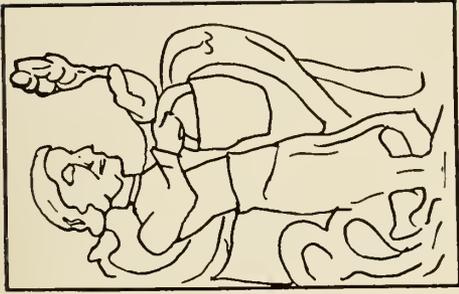
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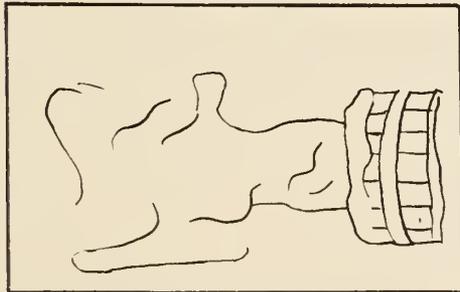
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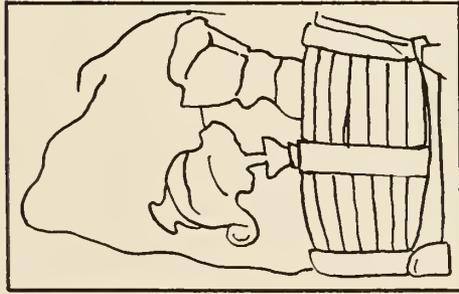
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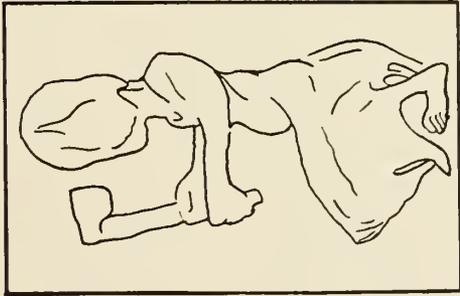
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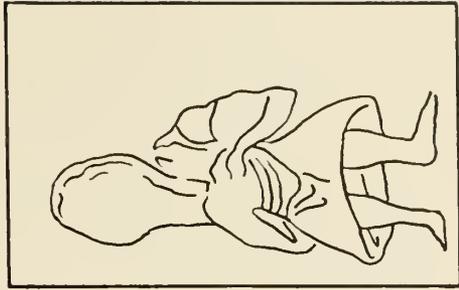
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16

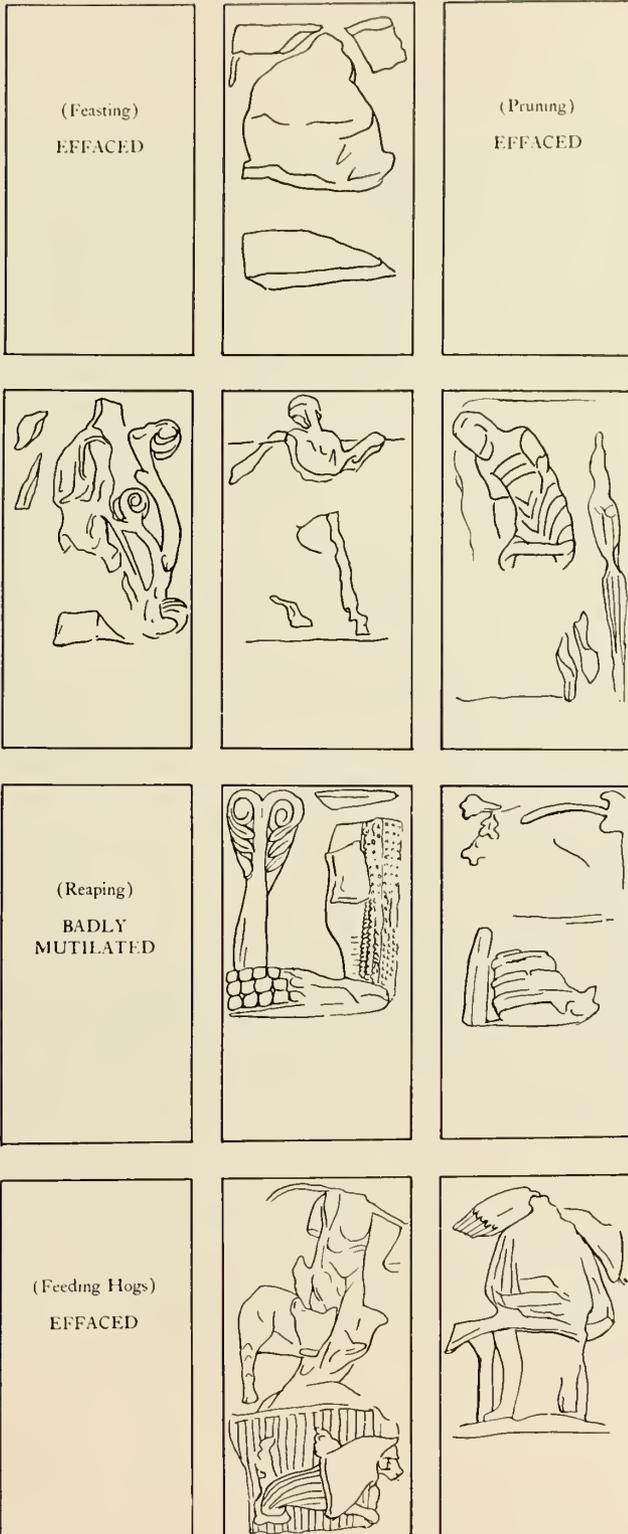


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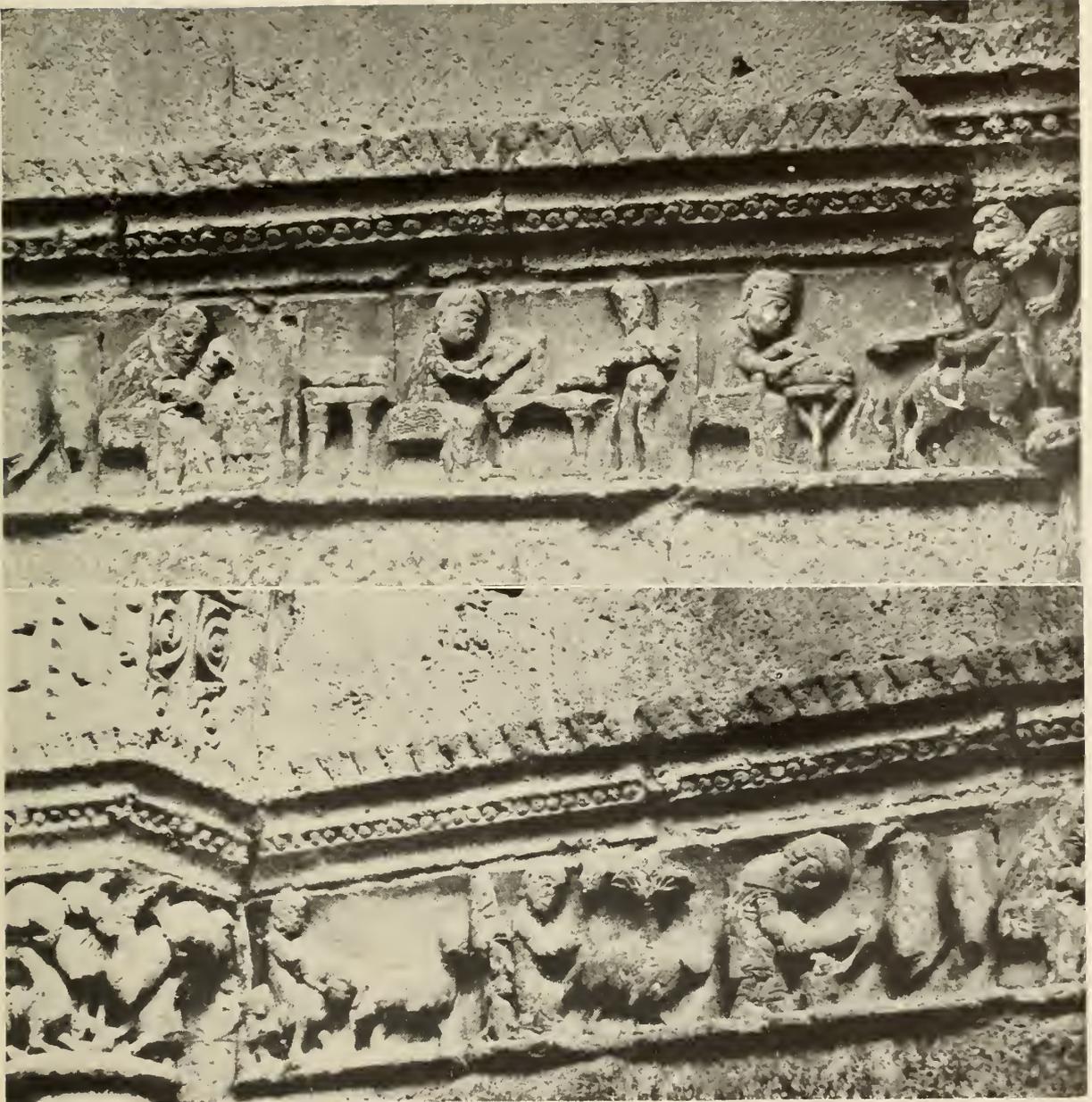


12

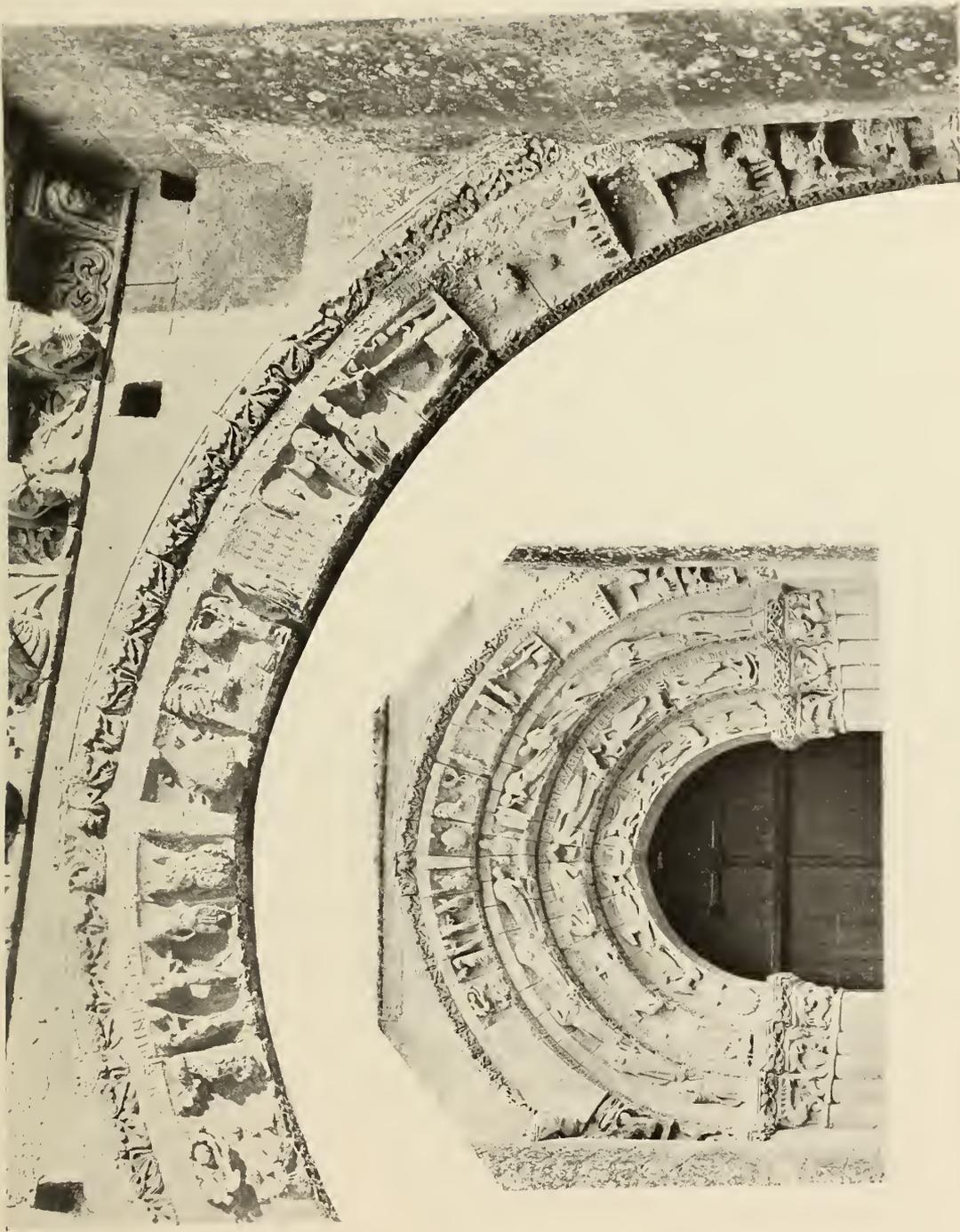
55. Angers, Porch of Prefecture. Reliefs from St. Aubin. Above: Feb., Mar., June, Aug. Below: Sept., Oct., Dec., Unidentified Month.



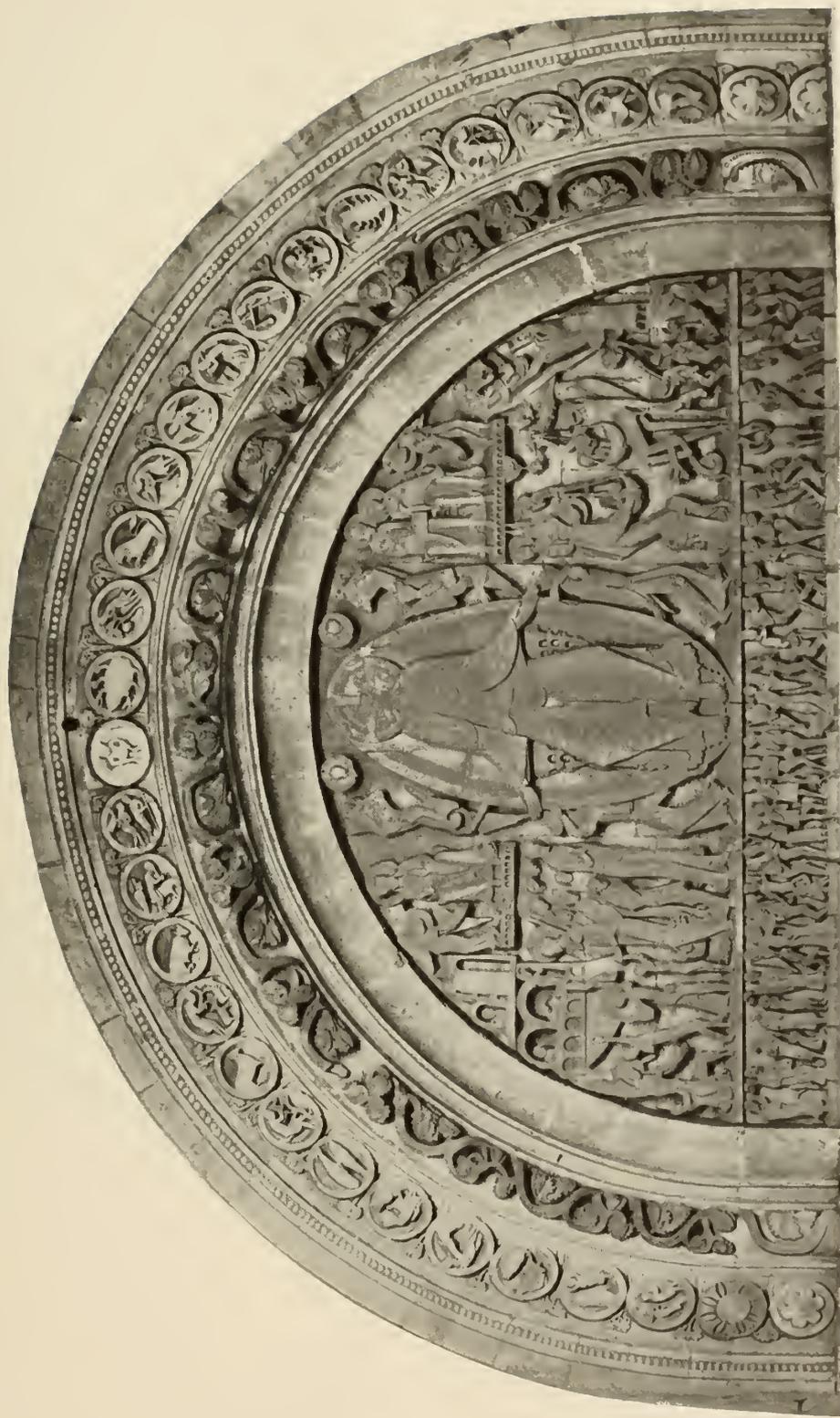
56. Argenton-le-Château, St. Gilles.
Reliefs on Portal.



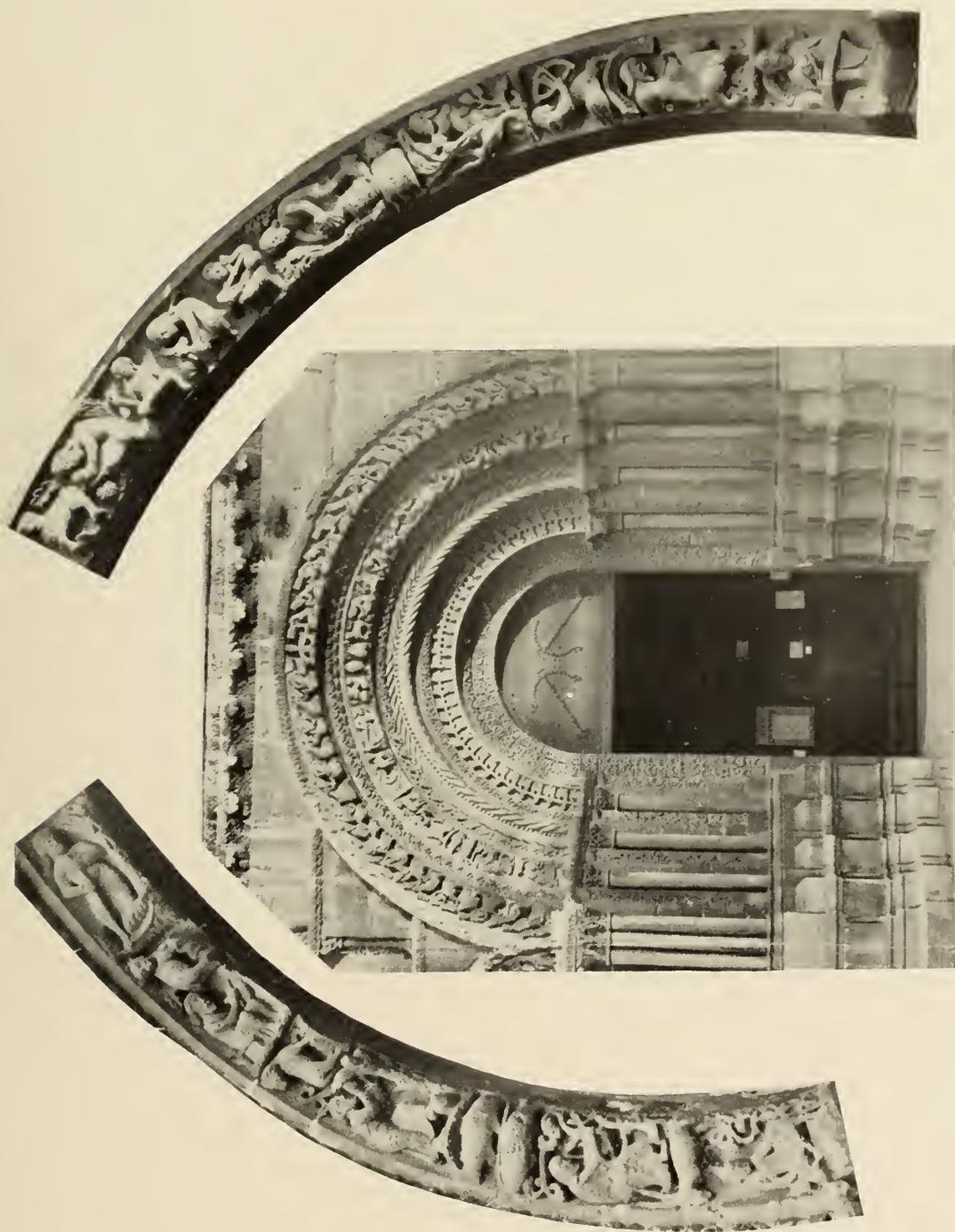
57. Aubeterre, St. Jacques. Frieze. Above (right to left): Dec., Jan. (with Aquarius?),
Feb. Below (right to left): Mar., April, May. (*After Porter.*)



58. Aulnay, St. Pierre. Reliefs on Portal. Above: Mar. (?), June-Dec. Below: General View.
(Cl. Archives Photographiques, Paris.)



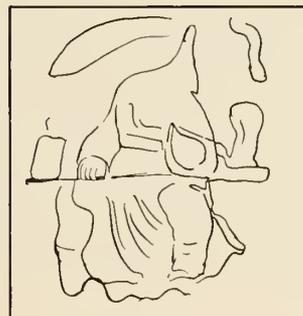
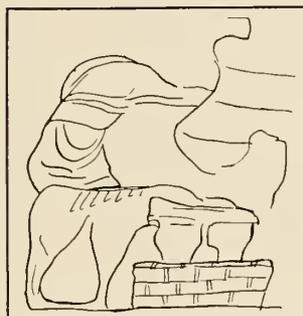
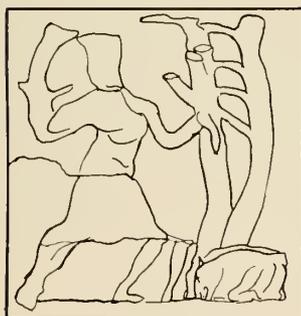
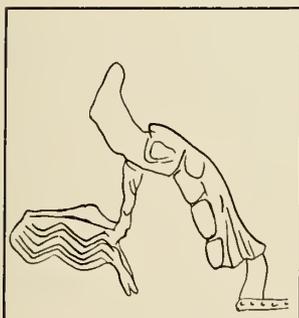
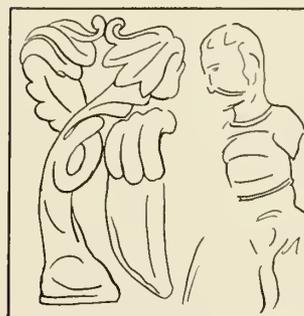
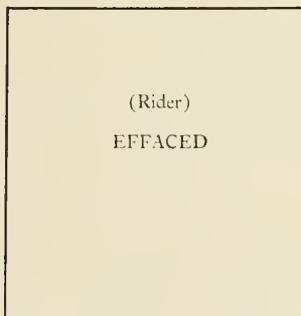
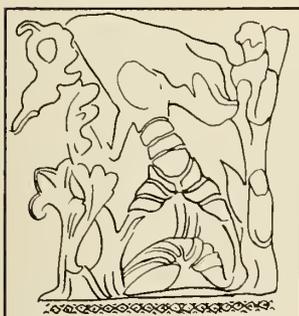
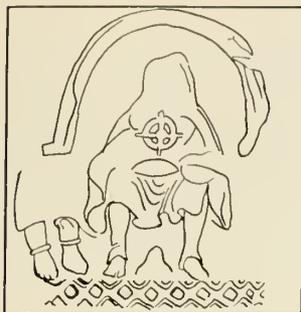
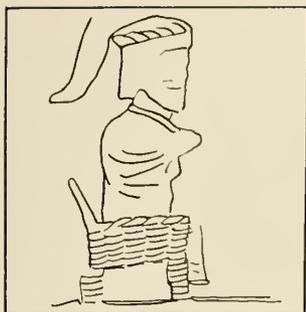
59. Autun, St. Lazare. Reliefs on Portal. (Cl. Archives Photographiques, Paris.)



61. Bordeaux, Ste. Croix. Portal and Details of Archivolt with labors.



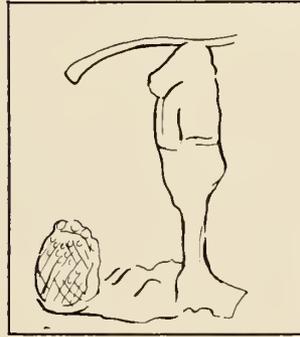
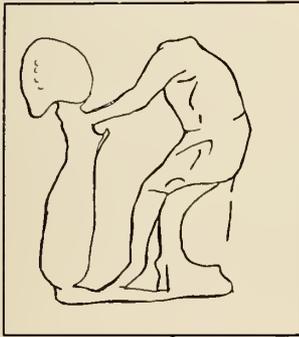
62. Bourges, St. Ursin. Reliefs of Portal.



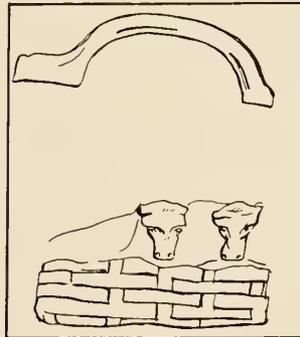
65. Civray, St. Nicholas. Reliefs of Portal. (After Cl. Archives Photographiques, Paris.)



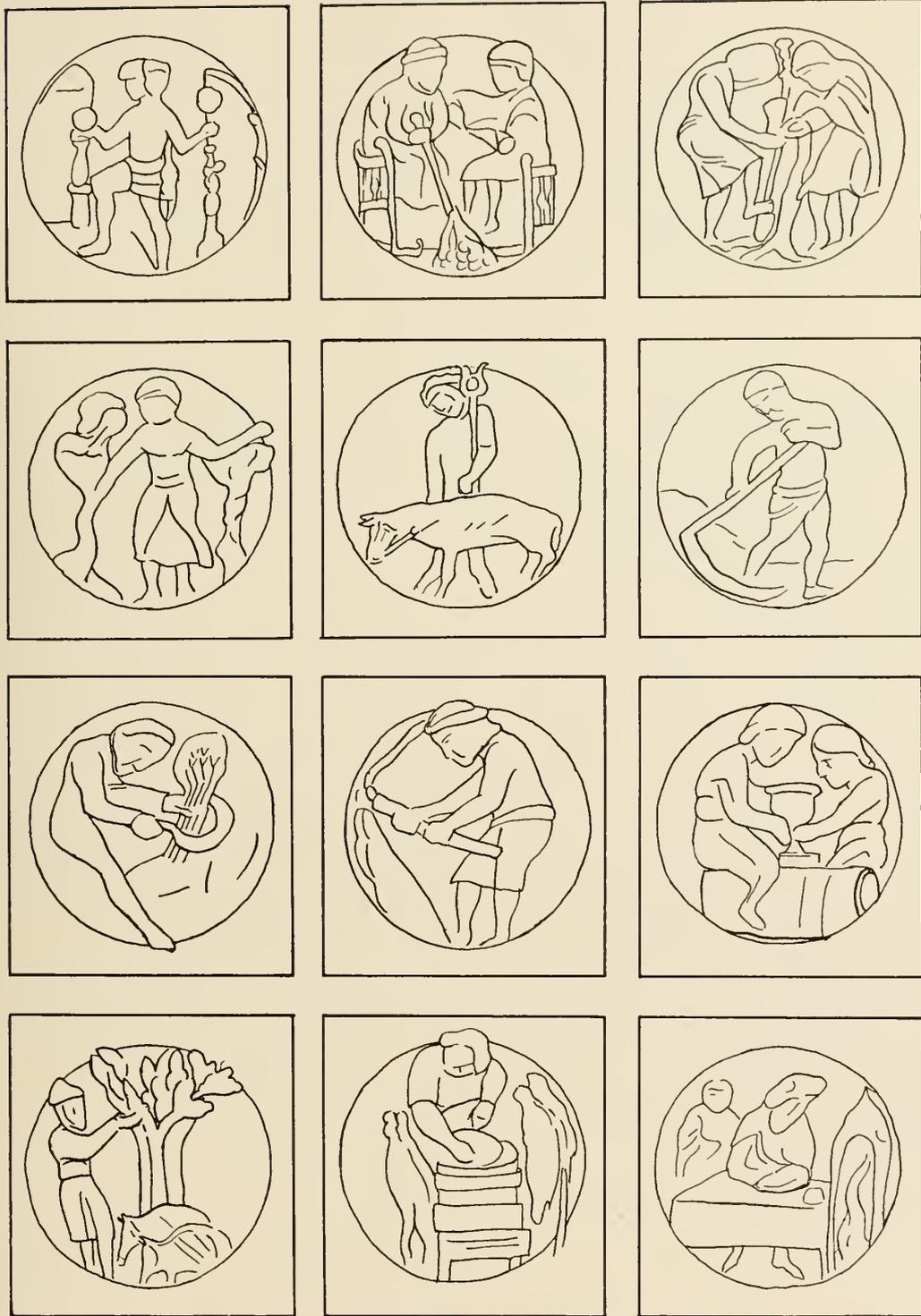
66. Cognac, St. Léger. Portal and details of Nov., Capricorn and Dec.
(Cl. *Archives Photographiques, Paris.*)



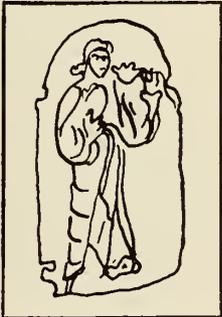
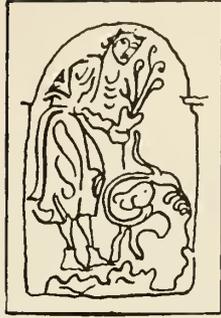
(Feeding Hogs)
EFFACED



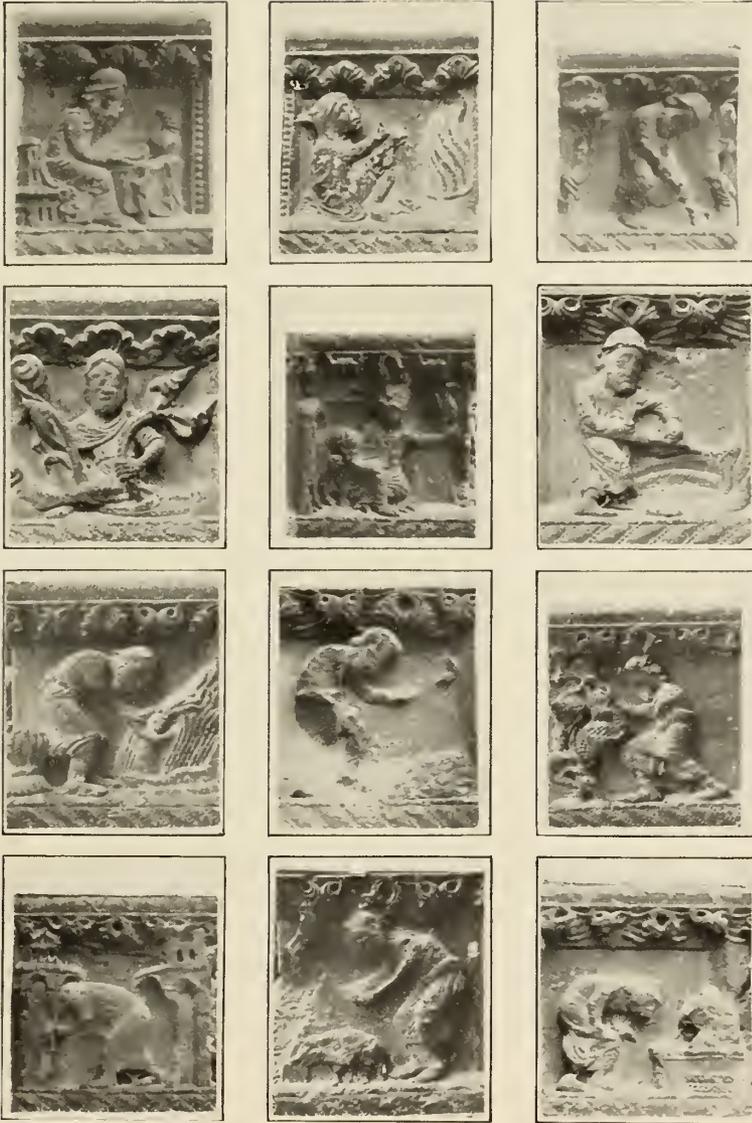
67. Fenioux, Church. Reliefs of Portal. (After *Cl. Archives Photographiques, Paris.*)



72. St. Denis, Abbey Church. Reliefs on Portal.



73. St. Evroult-de-Montfort, Church.
Reliefs on Baptismal Font.



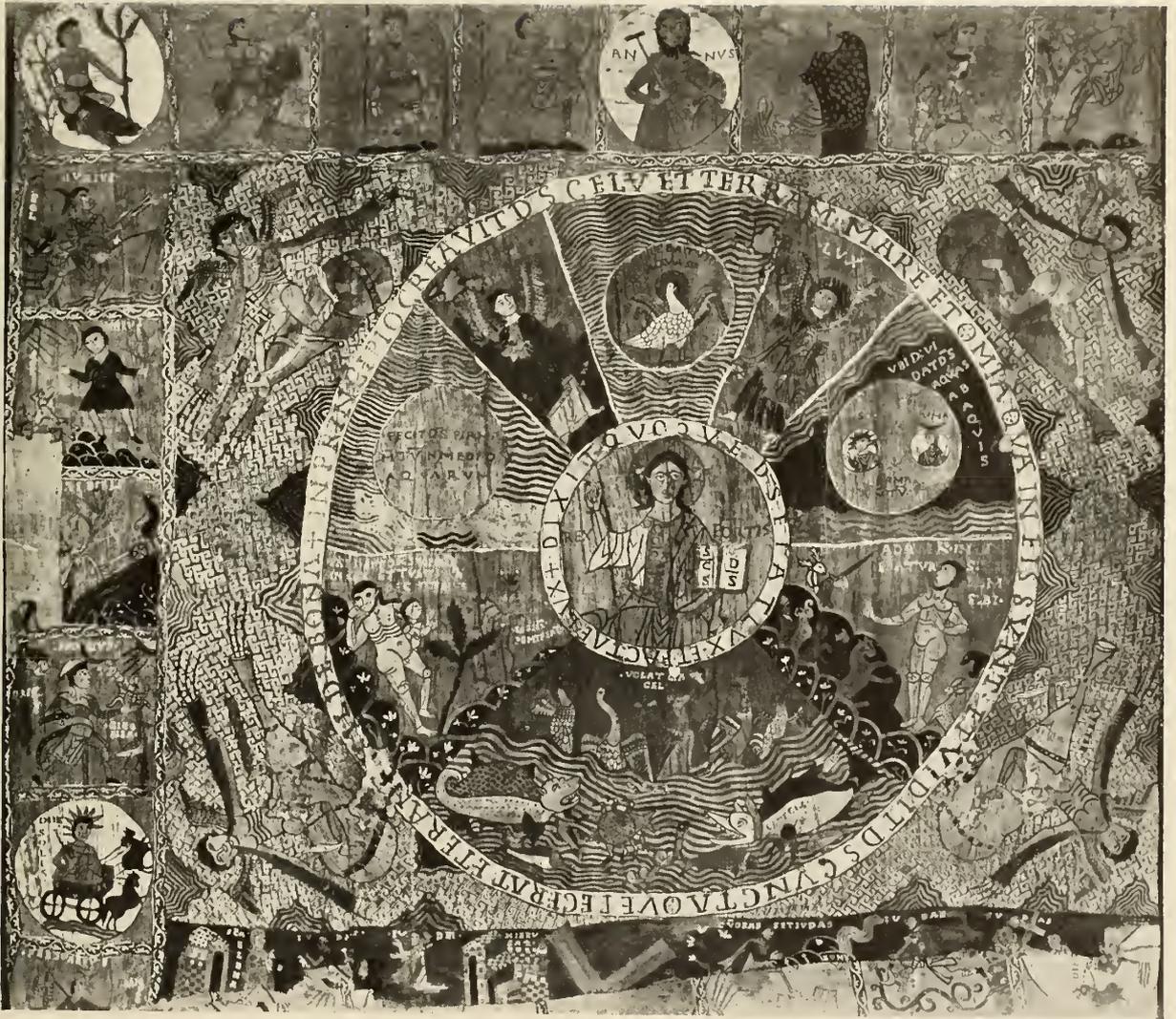
76. Senlis, Cathedral. Reliefs on Portal.



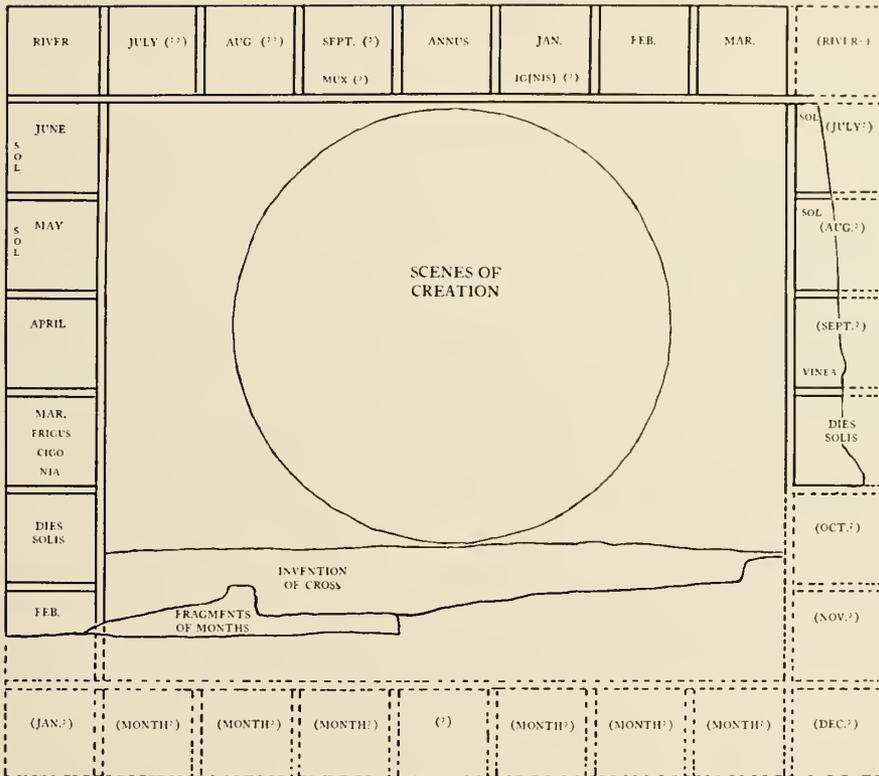
78. Souvigny, Church. Reliefs on pillar. (Cl. Archives Photographiques, Paris.)



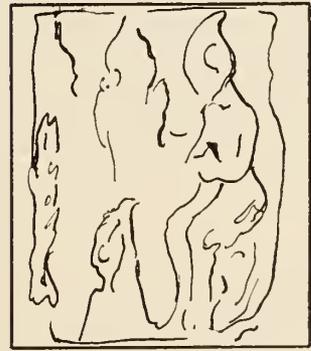
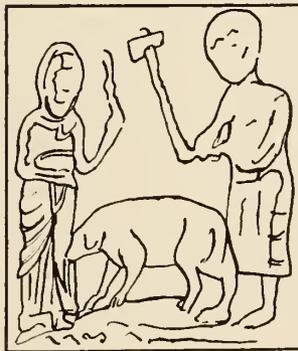
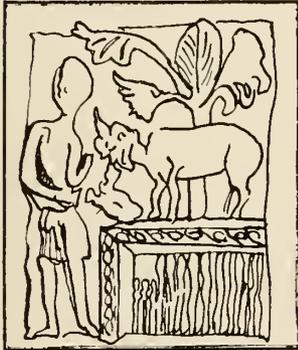
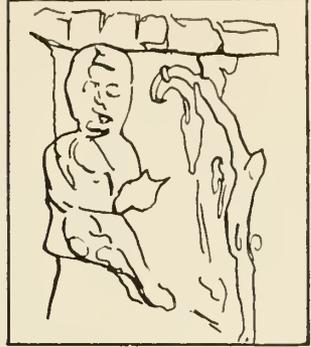
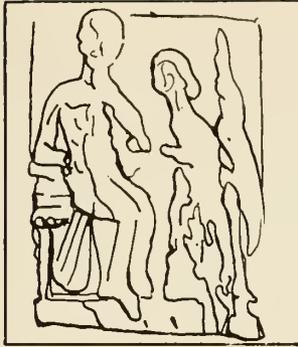
81. Vézelay, Ste. Madeleine. Reliefs of Portal.
 (After Cl. Archives Photographiques, Paris.)



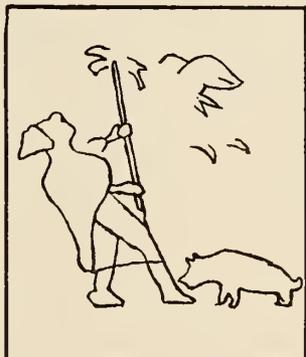
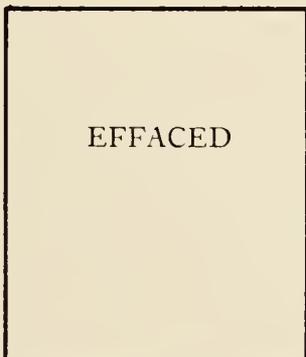
82. Gerona , Cathedral. Textile. (Photo Mas.)

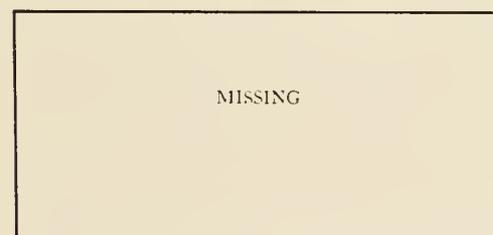
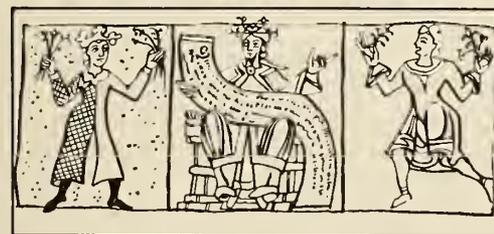
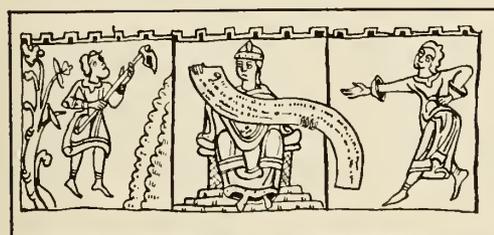
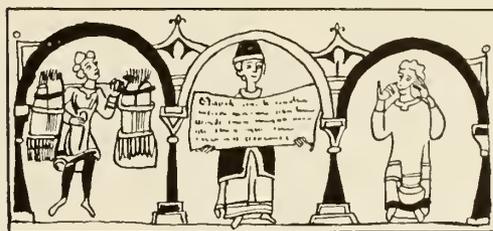
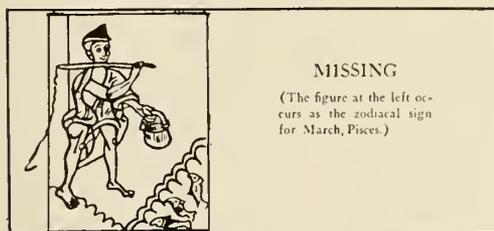
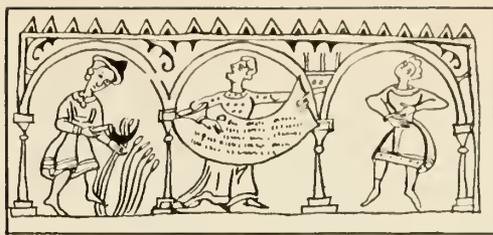
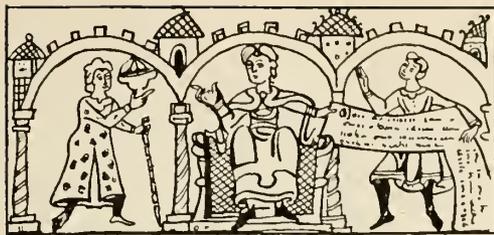


82. Gerona. Textile. Possible Original Form. (Parts drawn in broken lines are missing. See discussion in text.)

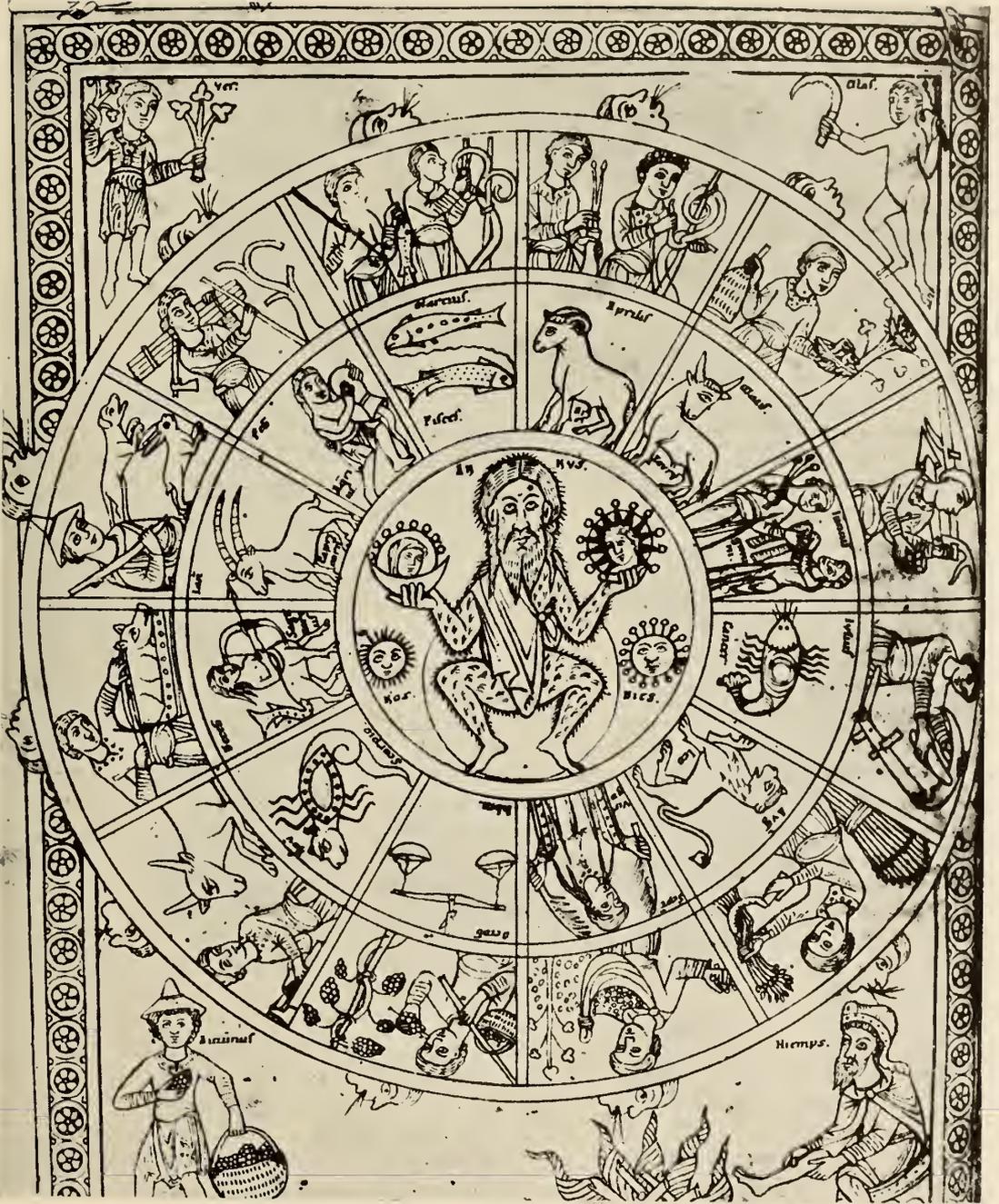


84. Ripoll, Sta. Maria. Reliefs on Portal. (After Puig y Cadafalch.)





88. Strasbourg, Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire. MS. of Gutta and Sintram of Marbach. At left: Jan.–June (Feb. is missing). At right: July–Dec. (After Walter.)



89. Stuttgart, Königliche Öffentliche Bibliothek.
 "Chronicon Zwifaltense minus." (After Brandt.)



90. Brookland, Church. Baptismal Font.
(After Nesbitt.)

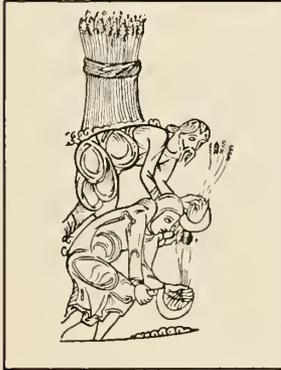
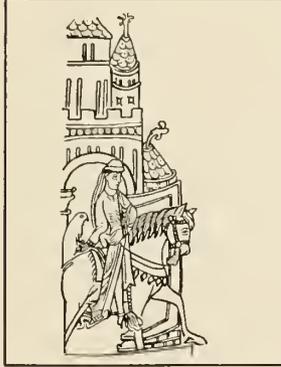
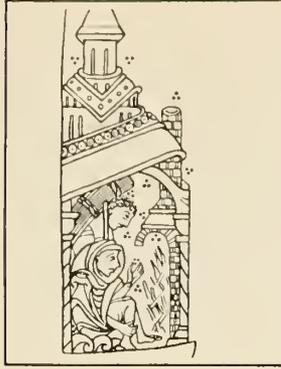


91. Burnham Deepdale, Church, Baptismal Font. (After Pegg.)

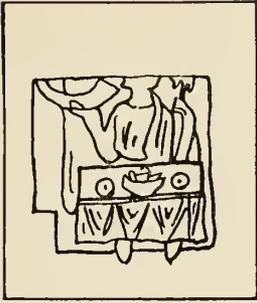


92. Cambridge, St. John's College, MS. 42. (After photographs by St. John's College.)

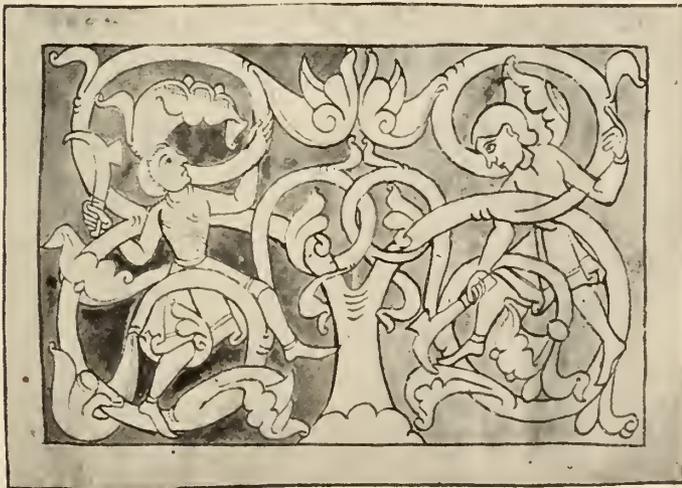




94. Glasgow, Hunterian Museum, MS. 229. (After photographs by the Hunterian Museum.)







97. Oxford, Bodleian Library. MS. 614. Jan., Feb.,
Mar. (*Bodleian Library.*)



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